

Appendix

A Response to New York's Mayor Wagner's Welcome Address to the Grand Lodge of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World (in Session at the Commodore Hotel)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HOWARD H. BAKER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. BAKER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD I include therein an eloquent and inspiring address delivered recently by Lt. George W. Lee, of Memphis, Tenn., in response to the welcome address of Mayor Wagner, of New York City, to the Grand Lodge of the Improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World.

Lieutenant Lee is grand commissioner of education, IBPOEW, and in addition to being one of the greatest orators in America today, he is a successful businessman and philanthropist.

The address follows:

A RESPONSE TO NEW YORK'S MAYOR WAGNER'S ADDRESS TO THE GRAND LODGE OF THE IMPROVED BENEVOLENT PROTECTIVE ORDER OF ELKS OF THE WORLD (IN SESSION AT THE COMMODORE HOTEL)

(By George W. Lee, grand commissioner of education of IBPOEW)

Grand exalted ruler, his honor the mayor, and delegates assembled, the late Perry W. Howard, national Republican leader, once told a joke about a white passenger, who sat near him on a trip up north. He said the white passenger scribbled on a newspaper and passed it on to him. It was his way of calling Perry's attention to an article about how two Negroes had robbed a bank. Under the article, the white passenger had written, "Don't you think this is mighty bad for your race?" After reading the article, Perry penciled in, "Yes, it is pretty bad. Negroes are getting more like white folks every day."

You, sir, preside over the greatest city in the world. Not even the poet, whose fantastic imagination soars beyond the boundaries of mortality, has been able to construct on the loom of his genius anything in the world of fantasy that does not exist here in actual reality. Your jeweled skyscrapers standing like jagged peaks with streets running by them like canyons, your tunnels, stabbing through under the beds of rivers have engaged the wonder of civilized man; your Greenwich Village has captured the attention of art, and music has entrusted itself to the joyous care of your Tin Pan Alley.

Truly, sir, yours is the greatest city in all of the world and the improved Benevolent Protective Order of Elks of the World is getting more like you every day.

So the greatest city greets the greatest fraternity and the greatest mayor extends his hand in happy fellowship to the greatest exalted ruler.

Sir, you have welcomed to this fabulous city many of the world's great leaders; crowned heads and ambassadors of countries who boast of great heritage.

You have welcomed here the French—from the land that holds within its bosom the remains of Victor Hugo and Voltaire and the ashes of that restless man Napoleon, who conquered the Alps and mingled the Eagles of France with the Eagles of the Crags.

You have welcomed here the English, whose island home is the cradle of the Magna Carta and Shakespeare, whose mind as clear as the waters of an English spring, touched all the discovered shores of human thought. You have welcomed here the Germans of philosophic speculations, consecrated to science, whose Mozart smote the lyre of the Scottish plowman and stayed the life of the German priest.

You have welcomed here the Russians, who through force, violence, and brutality seek to harness science to the chariot of destruction and quench every spark of freedom in rivers of blood.

You have welcomed here many of the heads of the new African government, whose products to a large extent we depend upon for our production line. Ninety percent of the manganese with which we make our steel comes from India, Brazil, and the African Congo. The largest supply of uranium yet found in the world is in the African Congo. Our chrome, our cobalt, our tin, our tungsten comes from many of these dark countries.

The American Negro, whom the Elks symbolize, have come here not from foreign shores—we have no hyphen in our voice. We were born here—others came here. We are at home, even though we are sometimes treated as strangers in our own home—forced into the back alleys of life with only the crumbs that falls from the table of democracy.

We were here a year before the *Mayflower* landed at Plymouth Rock and just 2 years after the founding of the first Virginia Colony. We saw the light in the tower of the old North Church. We saw Paul Revere as he dashed through the night. We fought at Bunker Hill until the talons of the American eagle were wet with blood.

The Negro, sir, and the Negro alone is native to American freedom. Only can the Negro say that around his fortunes, over his hopes, and amid his anxious tears gathered the great minds and souls of this Nation. Only the Negro can say that around him broke the storm, which shook heaven and earth and all but dismembered this Union. Through the American Negro, sir, the revolution became the drama of history. The Declaration of Independence in which is found a divine flavor was proved; the Constitution vindicated, and freedom itself was loosed from the ugly grasp of night.

In Cuba, when the Monroe Doctrine was challenged and a white colonel of the old 24th Infantry cried, "To the rear"—a black sergeant snatched the sword from his hand and commanded, "To hell you preach, forward." They moved over rocks and over

crags with the song on their lips, "There'll Be a Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." They played a major role in driving the last vestige of foreign resistance from the American shores.

A few days ago, a subcommittee, headed by Senator EASTLAND, of Mississippi, in accusing Cuba of campaigning to subvert the American Negro against his own Government, but, it said, "the campaign had been unsuccessful." The subcommittee charged that the government of Fidel Castro and his Communist henchmen have been unsuccessful in embroiling American Negroes in their nefarious designs.

Despite bruising words and unkind speech; despite the shackles of race prejudice, which has not only been a handicap to us, but has manacled our Nation in its fight for survival.

Despite the plague of flagrant Jim Crow signs over the doors of the South and over the hearts of the North, in public transportation, in recreation, in theaters and higher education—our faith remains unshaken. A noble cry rises from the lips of the American Negro, "though you slay me yet I trust you."

Others boast of lands and temples—they boast of a heritage of names feared by kings. The American Negro makes no boast. He enters no controversy with racial groups here or abroad, the Negro fights to remove segregation not because he is hungry to mingle with white groups but because he wants to remove the legal stigma of Jim Crow. He wants participation in government and not paternalism with a handout; he wants to join the community and be a part of the community's load and fight to reduce provocations without destroying the essential elements of progress; he wants to work with white people with a self-dedication to maintain the bonds of brotherhood and love; he wants to compete with them only as individuals and not as a group in our society; he wants the right to live; to work; to build a home; to educate his children; to increase their chances of success in a highly competitive environment; and to be promoted on his job. He isn't asking for any special treatment, any special laws, or any special sections of town in which to live.

When the historian views the whole panorama of American progress, in search of something which has endured, he will pick up the broken pen of promise—dip it in the sunlight of immortality and write; the American white man with his daring, who heard God's voice and came with his loved ones across the seas, opened up a continent and peopled a forest with the mighty creations of science; the Jews with their religion; the Irish with their myth; the Germans with their philosophy; the English with their law and then the moving hand of history will pause and then write about the Negro who stood in the watchtowers, guarding the American Constitution against the destruction of man's last great hope in this world of ours.

While others use their best talent to circumvent the Constitution—the Negro has used his all to protect the Constitution. His has not been just racial protest and special pleading. But, sir, we have today a broader concern. The concern of strengthening the democratic foundations of America because

we realize that we cannot help America survive (if America continues to exclude us from the necessary education, training, and dignity which are essential to human criterion).

So when the historian of the future writes about America, let him say that the American Negro accepted his responsibility to free America from the shackles of racism and helped this great Nation to come of age and reach the level of adaptability, which is so necessary for its survival.

A Long History of Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, the motion picture industry's long history of outstanding service to the Nation in time of need is a familiar story to all of us. But perhaps less known to many is the fact that each year Hollywood contributes over a million dollars to national and local charities through a unique fund-raising organization known as Motion Picture Permanent Charities.

This year, Motion Picture Permanent Charities will conduct its 20th anniversary campaign throughout the film and allied industries with a goal of raising \$1,250,000 for the 22 major health and welfare agencies it supports.

Notable in this 20th anniversary year is the fact that some time during the campaign, the Motion Picture Permanent Charities will reach a total of \$25 million raised to help worthwhile charitable organizations. This, I think, is a truly remarkable achievement for a single industry to accomplish. But the record for outstanding achievements by Motion Picture Permanent Charities is equally remarkable.

It was formed in 1940 as a clearing-house to screen and approve agencies appealing to the film industry for funds, but by 1942 it became evident to its leaders that a different kind of fund-raising organization was needed by the film industry.

Thus, late in 1942 Motion Picture Permanent Charities, under Samuel Goldwyn's leadership, created its own campaign organization and consolidated all charity appeals within the film industry, the first such comprehensive program undertaken by a single American industry.

Following this pioneering venture, Motion Picture Permanent Charities set another first in the charity field by instituting the fair plan, payroll deduction system by which an employee contributes voluntarily a fixed amount from each paycheck. So successful was this system that other industries and other charity federations have modeled their fund-raising programs after the fair plan.

Undoubtedly Motion Picture Permanent Charities will pioneer other programs in the future, but on this 20th anniversary I think it appropriate to extend to Hollywood and the Motion Picture Permanent Charities the applause and thanks quite properly due them.

Educational Program in Mississippi

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, the remarkable growth, development, and improvement of the public school system of Mississippi has been so noteworthy since World War II that I wish to share some of the pertinent facts with my colleagues of the Senate.

When public schools opened their doors for the 1960 fall term, State Superintendent of Education J. M. Tubb advised me that 573,059 students were enrolled, an increase of 6,638 over the previous year. Enrollment figures for 1961 are not yet available.

Those students were attending a public school system that has added 10,000 new classrooms since World War II at a cost of \$150 million.

Mr. President, few will realize and will be surprised to learn that 65 percent of those new classrooms were constructed for Negro schoolchildren. Moreover, 300 new cafeterias have been built in the last 15 years to provide hot lunches for the schoolchildren of Mississippi.

Schoolteacher salaries have enjoyed a tremendous boost in recent years. Mississippi ranks No. 1 in the Nation in the percentage of increase in instructional pay to teachers—137 percent.

The public school system of Mississippi owes a great deal of its present well-being to the guiding hand of W. F. Bond, the man who served as the head of the department of education for 20 years, 1916-36. He is appropriately honored in the attached editorial by Editor J. Oliver Emmerich, of the Jackson (Miss.) State Times, September 6, 1961.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert the editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CRUSADER FOR EDUCATION NOW VIEWS THE HARVEST

(By Oliver Emmerich)

Today nearly 600,000 boys and girls will matriculate in the elementary and high schools of Mississippi. The cost of this school term will be \$108 million.

This is an appropriate time to review the work of a crusading State superintendent of education who laid the groundwork for the modern schools these children will attend.

During the 20 years that he was head of the State department of education (1916-36), W. F. Bond, now retired and living in Jackson, assumed the responsibility of converting scattered one-teacher and two-teacher schools into a commendable public school system.

Mr. Bond, a man of sagacity, dedication and superb sense of humor, held meetings in each of the 82 counties in Mississippi. Many people opposed his crusade for consolidated schools. They did not relish the idea of higher taxes to pay for larger schools, longer school terms, high teachers' salaries, and schoolbus transportation.

Said Mr. Bond recently, "I finally stumbled upon a statement which carried an appeal." We reproduce that statement herewith:

"Your children now think you are the best daddies and mothers in the world. That is as it should be. Some day, however, they will have the minds of men and women and will know then whether or not, because of the love of a few cold dollars, lack of cooperation with your neighbors, or indifference, you failed to give them the training they are going to need to get on in the world in which they live after you are dead and gone.

"When you look into the faces of your children you see boys and girls in whose veins flow as good blood as ever coursed the veins of any child since the beginning of time. They are your children. If given a chance, they are capable of becoming the equal, in every respect, of any other people anywhere else in the world."

Commenting on the response to this statement Mr. Bond said, "When I presented this picture I observed that men would stroke their beards and women would hide a tear. I knew this was winning them over—and it did."

Many fathers and mothers who were inspired to action by Mr. Bond's appeal did not live to see the birth of a new day in Mississippi. We are happy that Mr. Bond himself has lived to see the fruition of his dream and his crusade.

A few days ago this editor chatted with Mr. Bond. He had jotted down the names of some Mississippi youths who have graduated from his schools and have made careers for themselves and America.

Below we reproduce the list of names of Mississippians who have helped create the new Mississippi in the dream of W. F. Bond; names which bear evidence of the quality of the school system which he helped to improve. Here is what he wrote:

"Within the last few weeks John Satterfield of Jackson and Yazoo City has been made president of the American Bar Association. Bryant Horne of Jackson is now head of the Garden Clubs of America, and Leslie L. Wilkinson is national president of the tire dealers association. A few years ago Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson was head of the U. S. Municipal Organization. Boyd Campbell, native of Attala County, served as president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce. Tom Ellis, our State supreme court clerk, for 3 years was head of the largest Masonic order in the world, and Luther A. Smith of Hattiesburg is now (lifetime position) head of the southern jurisdiction, Scottish Rite Masons."

The late Dr. F. J. Underwood, native of Monroe County, was recognized internationally as an authority on public health. Buford Ellington, native of Holmes County, is now Governor of the State of Tennessee.

Duke Humphrey, of Tippah County, is president of University of Wyoming. Roger Hull, of Attala County, is president of Mutual Life of New York, and Lewis Cutrer, of Pike County, is mayor of the South's largest city, Houston, Tex.

Mark Ethridge, of Meridian, is editor of Louisville Courier Journal. Turner Catledge, of Tupelo, is editor of New York Times. George Healy, of Natchez, is editor of Times-Picayune.

William Faulkner, of Oxford, the Nobel Prize winner, Miss Eudora Welty, of Jackson, and many others, are nationally known in the literary field. Clayton Rand, of Gulfport, and others are nationally known after-dinner speakers. Chief Justice Harvey McGehee has just retired as the president of the Chief Justices Association of America.

I could name many more men and women of Mississippi who in agriculture, science, education, politics, industry, and business, have distinguished themselves, and in so doing, have reflected glory upon our schools.

Mr. Bond speaks with truth. Education is described as the debt the present owes to future generations. We, of this present,

and the future of that past, are indebted to the pioneers who sacrificed so that we today can enjoy a new Mississippi.

**Farm Legislation in the 87th Congress,
1st Session**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 87th Congress is drawing to a close, and it is my duty, as chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, to review for the Members of the House the work of this Congress, thus far, in behalf of agriculture.

This report is a matter of great pride for me, and I am sure the majority of the Members of this body feel the same deep satisfaction in what is accomplished.

This 87th Congress, which convened in January, already has done more to change and improve the fortunes of the farm families of America than perhaps any Congress since the enactment of the basic agricultural laws that were designed to lift agriculture out of the great depression.

We have moved effectively to ease the cost-price squeeze that for almost a decade has strangled the farm economy. We have reversed the long downward trend in farm income. The effects of our work already are evident. During the month ended August 15, the index of prices received by farmers rose nearly 2 percent. The mid-August index was 3 percent above a year earlier.

This is being achieved because we have an administration and the Congress working together, with common objectives.

When this Congress convened in January, the time was nearing when farmers would plant their crops. A new administration was coming into power. Time was of the essence, if we were to come to grips in 1961 with the deepening depression that had settled upon the farmlands of our Nation. The situation demanded courageous and swift action.

The most pressing problem of agriculture confronting us was the great and burdensome surplus of wheat and feed grains, and the prospect that crops to be planted this year would build this surplus to more costly and staggering proportions.

The new administration, after Orville Freeman had been named the Secretary of Agriculture, and after he had consulted with farm legislators in the Congress, came forward with a proposal that offered the one great promise of injecting stability in a large area of agriculture in 1961. This was the feed grains bill.

This bill proposed to establish a one-year emergency program to reduce the production of feed grains in 1961, and thereby to alleviate the conditions of oversupply and low prices then seriously

depressing a major segment of the Nation's agriculture and placing on taxpayers the burden of holding nearly \$4 billion of these grains.

Our Committee on Agriculture called this legislation up for consideration against a background of almost a decade of national controversy and bickering on farm policy, during which time the farm economy had gradually deteriorated. The basic issue in this background was between those who would remove restraints upon an already exploding production and those who contended that the only way for agriculture to achieve a fair price structure is to adjust production to the needs of the markets. Our Committee on Agriculture, with remarkable speed, resolved the issue in a determination to make the law of supply and demand work for the farmer, and not against him. We reported the legislation to provide incentives for farmers to reduce their production of feed grains. The Congress promptly passed the bill, and it was signed into law by the President.

Farmers responded magnificently. They cooperated in the new program far beyond expectations. Consequently, feed grains production has been brought into reasonable bounds in 1961, to the great benefit of farmers and taxpayers as well.

Mr. Speaker, the program is expected to add around \$750 million, in 1961, as compared with 1960, to the income of corn, grain sorghum, oats, barley and soybean producers.

This 1961 feed grain program has worked, as follows:

First. Payment in cash or in kind for retiring 20 percent of corn and grain sorghum acreage—or up to 20 acres, whichever is greater on individual farms. Eligibility for price support for corn and grain sorghum to be contingent upon participation in this diversion of 20 percent of acreage or 20 acres.

Second. Payment in kind for retiring an additional 20 percent of corn and grain sorghum acreage. However, this additional acreage diversion would not be required as a condition for price support eligibility.

Third. An increase in the price support level for corn from \$1.06 to \$1.20 a bushel, and increases in the supports for grain sorghums and other feed grains. Also, an increase in the support level of soybeans, intended to divert at least 2 million acres from corn and grain sorghums.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Agriculture, with the feed grains program underway early in the spring, turned forthwith to work upon general farm legislation, to be effective with the 1962 crops.

I want to commend the members of our committee and the Members of the House, regardless of political party affiliations, who worked so long, so hard, and with such dedication, to reverse the long, desperate, downward trend in farm prices which had depressed the farm economy and impoverished large areas of agriculture. I am especially encouraged at the substantial support many Members representing city constituencies

gave to this effort to stabilize the farm economy.

Agriculture is by far the Nation's largest industry. Farming employs more persons than the steel industry, automobile industry, transportation industry, and public utilities combined. This 87th Congress has demonstrated a sound awareness that what happens in agriculture bears directly not only upon farmers but ultimately upon consumers, taxpayers, and the economy as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, notwithstanding the great range of clashing views abroad in this country on the direction farm policy should take, this Congress proceeded with the job that had to be done. We passed, and the President has signed, the Agricultural Act of 1961. I think it is the most important piece of legislation, in the interest of farmers, to be enacted in a decade.

Following are the major provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1961:

DECLARATION OF POLICY

The act makes a broad declaration in behalf of policies in order more fully and effectively to improve, maintain, and protect the prices and incomes of farmers, to enlarge rural purchasing power, to achieve a better balance between supplies of agricultural commodities and the requirements of consumers, therefor, to preserve and strengthen the structure of agriculture, and to revitalize and stabilize the overall economy at reasonable costs to the Government. It specifically declares it to be the policy of the Congress to "recognize the importance of the family farm as an efficient unit of production and as an economic base for towns and cities in rural areas and encourage, promote, and strengthen this form of farm enterprise."

TITLE I—SUPPLY AND PRICE STABILIZATION

Consultation on agricultural programs

Provides authority for consultation and advising with farmers and farm and commodity organizations in developing agricultural programs.

The 1962 wheat program

1. A mandatory reduction of 10 percent in wheat acreage and incentives for producers to reduce their acreage voluntarily another 30 percent to a maximum 40-percent acreage curtailment on individual farms. A producer could retire up to 40 percent of his allotment or 10 acres, whichever is greater, and receive payment for such diversion.

2. An exemption from marketing quotas limited to 13.5 acres per farm or the highest acreage planted for harvest in 1959, 1960, or 1961. The present exemption is 15 acres.

3. Price support limited to producers who do not exceed their reduced 1962 acreage allotment and who divert an acreage at least equal to 10 percent of their previous acreage allotment to conservation uses, with payments in cash or in kind on up to 45 percent of normal production for such diversion.

Secretary Freeman has set the 1962 wheat support at a national average of \$2 a bushel. This is 83 1/2 percent of parity. The support this year is \$1.79 or 75 percent of parity.

4. Payments in cash or in kind up to 60 percent on normal production on wheat acres voluntarily removed from production above the mandatory 10-percent diversion.

5. Authority for producers to plant castor beans, guar, sunflower, safflower, or sesame, if designated by the Secretary, subject to the conditions that no payment shall be made with respect to diverted acreage devoted to any such commodity.

6. Increases the marketing penalty from 45 to 65 percent of parity price and establishes stricter computation of amount subject to penalty, in cases of noncompliance with allotments.

7. Provides that where producers can prove their 1959 and 1960 acreages and yields, these figures shall be accepted.

8. Authority for 3 years, beginning with 1962, for the Secretary to increase Durum wheat acreage allotments if the supply warrants. No export subsidies on Durum if acreage is increased.

The 1962 feed grains program

1. A voluntary retirement of acreage previously devoted to corn, grain sorghum, and barley. The 1962 program would add barley to the grain program in operation for corn and grain sorghum in 1961. A special exemption is provided for producers of malting barley.

2. Payments to producers on retired acreage up to 50 percent of the normal value of production on these acres, at the current support rate, for the first 20 percent of the corn, grain sorghum, and barley acres retired to a conservation use, and payment up to 60 percent of the normal value of production on land retired above 20 percent of the previous acreage in these crops. Any producer may place a minimum of 20 acres of cropland in conservation use and receive payments.

3. A price support level determined at the discretion of the Secretary of Agriculture, but not less than 65 percent of parity. Under similar provision in the 1961 program the Secretary set the support of corn at \$1.20 a bushel, or 74 percent of parity, and grain sorghum at \$1.93 a hundredweight, or 78 percent of parity. The corn support in 1960 was \$1.06 and grain sorghum \$1.52.

4. As a condition of eligibility for price support a producer of corn, grain sorghum or barley (except as provided for malting barley) must participate in the acreage reduction program for these crops in 1962, to the extent prescribed by the Secretary. To be in compliance with the program, a producer of corn or grain must not increase his acreage of barley and a producer of barley must not increase his acreage of corn or grain sorghum.

Marketing orders

1. Adds to the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937, peanuts by areas of production, turkeys and turkey hatching eggs, cherries and cranberries for canning or freezing; and also adds apples, both fresh and for canning and freezing (and products except canned or frozen products are covered) in Michigan, New York, New England, Maryland, New Jersey, Indiana, and California. The provision relating to peanuts requires that if any orders are developed for peanuts, each of such orders shall be limited to peanuts produced in one of the areas named in the bill. Tobacco would remain in the list of commodities where producers, if they wish, could develop marketing orders. Soybeans are deleted from this list.

2. Requires processors representing over 50 percent of the volume of cranberries, cherries, and apples for canning or freezing to approve any marketing order, as well as producers, before it can become effective.

3. Also includes provisions: (a) amending the above-parity provision of the act to prevent termination of orders prior to the end of the marketing season; (b) changing the civil penalty provision to aid enforcement by reducing the penalty and dropping "willful"; (c) permitting orders for groups or portions of commodities; (d) requiring referendums for initial orders and that the ballot describe the order; and (e) providing for processor referendums in cases where processor approval is required.

4. Adds to the commodities subject to import regulation under section 8e, when marketing orders are in effect on the same commodities in the United States, oranges, onions, walnuts, and dates except dates for processing.

Wool

Extends the National Wool Act for 4 years to March 31, 1966.

TITLE II—EXTENSION AND AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC LAW 480—AGRICULTURE TRADE DEVELOPMENT AND ASSISTANCE ACT

1. Amends title I (sales of commodities for foreign currencies) of Public Law 480 to (a) extend title for 3 years; (b) establish a limitation of \$4.5 billion on disposal of surpluses under title I agreements for a 3-year period and an annual limit of \$2.5 billion; (c) authorize the use of foreign currencies for dollar sales to American tourists; (d) improve the agricultural market development activities in foreign nations by setting aside 5 percent of the foreign currencies acquired each year to this purpose and by requiring that not less than 2 percent of the foreign currency sales proceeds be convertible into the currencies of other foreign nations as the Secretary of Agriculture deems necessary to improve overall U.S. market development activities.

2. Amends title II (food donations to relieve distress among friendly peoples) to (a) extend title II for 3 years through December 31, 1964; (b) extend authority for economic development for 3 years through December 31, 1964; (c) continue present authorization of \$300 million per year, plus carryover; (d) make annual limitation applicable to amount programmed rather than amount spent.

TITLE III—AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

1. Real estate loans:

(a) To persons who are or will become owner-operators of not larger than family farms.

(b) Available to all farm owners and tenants for soil and water conservation measures.

(c) May be made to certain nonprofit associations for soil and water conservation, drainage, and flood control, with an insured loan limit of \$1 million and a direct loan limit of \$500,000.

(d) Sets the limit on loans to individuals for land acquisition at \$80,000.

(e) Both insured and direct loans may be made up to 100 percent of normal value of the farm.

(f) Provides interest rate of not to exceed 5 percent plus fees. Out of 5 percent paid by insured loan borrowers, one-half of 1 percent to go to insurance fund and one-half of 1 percent now used for administrative expenses could go to the lender as additional interest.

(g) In determining eligibility for real estate loans the Secretary must consider prevailing private and cooperative interest rates in the community and must determine that the applicant is a U.S. citizen, has farm background and either training or experience, and is or will become a family farm owner-operator.

2. Operating loans:

(a) Increases loan limit from \$20,000 to \$35,000, and limits term of loan to 7 years. Not more than 25 percent of the annual appropriation can be used to create borrower indebtedness in excess of \$15,000.

(b) Authorizes participation loans up to 80 percent with private lenders.

(c) Provides interest rate of not to exceed 5 percent.

(d) Authorizes loans to soil conservation districts which are unable to obtain necessary credit elsewhere on reasonable terms and conditions, to purchase farm equipment customarily used for soil conservation purposes. Single loans are limited to \$35,000 outstanding indebtedness and total loans cannot exceed \$500,000 in any 1 year.

(e) In determining eligibility for operating loans the Secretary must consider prevailing interest rates in the local community and must determine that the applicant is a U.S. citizen, has farm background and either training or experience and is or will become a family farm owner-operator.

3. Emergency loans:

(a) Authorized in areas suffering from natural disaster conditions.

(b) Provides interest rate of not to exceed 3 percent under terms applicable to regular real estate or operating loans.

(c) In determining eligibility for emergency loans the Secretary must consider any established farmer or rancher or citizen of the United States or a private domestic corporation or partnership engaged primarily in farming or ranching in designated areas with experience and resources sufficient for probable successful operation, and persons or corporations outside designated areas who have suffered severe production losses not general to the area.

TITLE IV—GENERAL

1. Extension of Great Plains conservation program to December 31, 1971.

2. Extension of the school milk program for 5 years through June 30, 1967, with the House provision requiring annual appropriations.

3. Extension of the veterans and Armed Forces dairy programs for 3 years through December 31, 1964.

Mr. Speaker, the Agricultural Act of 1961 and the earlier special feed grains bill are the major enactments of the 87th Congress thus far, in behalf of agriculture. But along with this work we have developed and enacted other important legislation relating to the well-being of agriculture, thus contributing to the strength of the general economy.

Of particular importance was the bill to extend and amend the Sugar Act.

In July 1960, Congress enacted Public Law 86-592, which, first, extended the Sugar Act for 3 months—from December 31, 1960, to March 31, 1961—second, authorized the President to set the Cuban sugar quota for the balance of the calendar year 1960 and for the first 3 months of 1961 at any level not in excess of the Cuban quota under the basic quota system of the Sugar Act, and, third, directed the manner in which replacement supplies of sugar were to be obtained upon reduction of the Cuban quota.

Under this authority the Cuban quota has been cut to zero.

The sugar bill we enacted this year extended the Sugar Act from March 31, 1961, to June 30, 1962. It did not change the basic provisions of the act, although the legislation embraced two amendments to the emergency authority: First, to relieve the President of the obligation to purchase any part of the sugar formerly supplied by Cuba from any country with which the United States does not maintain diplomatic relations; and second, to require that in above-quota foreign purchases consideration should be given to countries of the Western Hemisphere and to those countries purchasing U.S. agricultural commodities.

The necessity of passing the bill before the Sugar Act expired on March 31 this year, and the complicated nature of the Sugar Act, which finds all of its provisions interrelated and dependent upon each other, made it impossible for the committee to take action on several propositions which would have made substantial changes in the basic act.

It was the committee's intention, upon completing work on the Agricultural Act of 1961, to return to sugar problems and hold the necessary hearings and conduct the essential studies to enact long-term

sugar legislation, dealing with quota adjustments for foreign supplies and with the desire for expansion of domestic sugar production in old and new areas. We were awaiting recommendations from the Department of Agriculture, which administers the sugar program.

On August 3, I received a letter from Secretary Freeman advising that for several reasons it appeared inadvisable for the Department to present recommendations for amending and extending the Sugar Act before the beginning of the next session of Congress. He said "world production and marketing of sugar are undergoing realignment and the situation has not yet stabilized," and this fact, coupled with other uncertainties in the international fields "lead us to believe it wise to reserve judgment for the present about some of the major issues respecting sugar import quotas." Moreover, the Secretary said "within the domestic sugar industry there are also important unresolved issues."

I subsequently announced that no further sugar legislation would be considered at this session but that such legislation will be given preferred treatment when the Congress returns in January. But, ever alert to the problems relating to sugar, internationally and among our own producers, our committee on September 7 adopted resolutions:

First. That the President be requested to instruct those in charge of administering the sugar program that it is the clear intent of Congress that in making any foreign purchases of sugar for the calendar year 1962 clear preference is to be given those countries which offer to buy a reasonable quantity of U.S. agricultural commodities in return for our purchase of their sugar.

Second. That it is the sense of the committee that in allocating the sugar tonnage necessary to supply the domestic growth factor, the Secretary of Agriculture should make allocations to new mills so that this new tonnage can support the development of the sugar industry in new areas in anticipation of passage of legislation revising the Sugar Act in 1962.

Third. That the committee would regard with extreme disfavor any action or statement by any representative of the United States at the Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, on the International Sugar Agreement, which would commit the United States or imply, either directly or indirectly, any commitment on the part of the United States to adopt any system of sugar importation other than fixed statutory quotas such as have heretofore operated so effectively under the Sugar Act of 1948 and previous laws.

Mr. Speaker, the three major farm enactments I have discussed are Public Law 87-5—the special feed grains program for 1961; Public Law 87-15—amend and extend the Sugar Act; and Public Law 87-128—the Agricultural Act of 1961.

Our committee has considered and reported to the House many other bills in this session dealing with specific matters relating to agriculture. A number have become public law, including:

Public Law 87-8—Farmers Home Administration loans (ceiling increase).

Public Law 87-10—extend time for application of 1959 amendment to Federal Nematocide, Fungicide and Rodenticide Act.

Public Law 87-28—amend title I of Public Law 480 (provides \$2 billion additional authority during 1961).

Public Law 87-33—temporary release and reapportionment of pooled acreage allotments.

Public Law 87-37—cotton acreage allotments transfer from flooded areas.

Public Law 87-62—emergency hay harvesting on conservation reserve acreage in drought areas.

Public Law 87-67—special milk program for children, expanded and extended to June 30, 1962.

Public Law 87-104—wheat referendum time extension to August 26, 1961.

Public Law 87-106—emergency livestock loans extension.

Public Law 87-127—surplus grain sales in disaster areas.

As I make this report, several bills relating to agriculture are awaiting final action before we adjourn. Among these is the Mexican farm labor bill.

Mr. Speaker, in closing this report, let me emphasize again to my colleagues that the work we have done in this first session of the 87th Congress, particularly in the enactment of the Agricultural Act of 1961 and the special feed grains program for 1961, will restore stability to large areas of agriculture. It will reduce burdensome farm surpluses. It will save taxpayers almost \$1 billion by diminishing expenditures on farm programs.

However, Mr. Speaker, we by no means have solved all of the problems of agriculture. Some commodities will not be helped by what we have done. They still will be in trouble when this session is adjourned.

In most of these commodities, effective action by the Congress must await the development of unity among producers on what kind of program they want.

The 2d session of the 87th Congress, which convenes next January, will write further general farm legislation. I am hopeful, and I am sure my colleagues here are hopeful, that leadership and unity among farmers themselves will develop in such a way that we may then be able to take another great stride to provide adequate rewards for the people of this country who have made us the best fed nation on the face of the earth.

Dedication of Younger Generation to Future of Israel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, the Hebrew words "kibbutz," "sabra," "Nachal," and "Moishe" may be unfamiliar to many of us. Yet these words

are the key to the future of Israel and their significance to the people of this great nation is evidenced by the article from the September 1, 1961, issue of the Minneapolis Star.

A kibbutz, Mr. President, is an Israel community, and the sabras are the youth who are native Israelis. Moishe, who in the United States would be John or Mike, is a member of the Nachal, the kibbutz army. Moishe, and other dedicated young Israelis like him, have laid personal gain aside and is fighting for a cause—the greatness of Israel through equality for all.

Mr. President, this article from the Star was written by a young man who speaks from firsthand experience. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Minneapolis Star, Sept. 1, 1961]
ISRAEL'S REBELS WITH A CAUSE—YOUNG, VIGOROUS ELEMENT HAS BEEN ADDED TO THE KIBBUTZ

(By Richard Gilmore)

A long, curving road lined with tall, ethereal pine trees. Fields of hay, tomatoes, and potatoes. Richard orchards of peaches and succulent plums. A large iron gate skirted by barbed wire. Simple cottages overlooking the Mediterranean and Lebanon. Sturdy people working, singing, sweating, smiling. This is Kibbutz Mazzuva, a communal settlement in the north of Israel.

Twelve years ago the rich fields to the right and left of the main road were arid spaces covered by layers of rocks. Sixteen years ago water had to be gathered in buckets from the nearest possible source which was in Arab territory. The beautiful cottages were shabby tents. The people sweated more than they smiled.

Thirty-three original families worked to build and defend Mazzuva. Other families joined this group to make the Mazzuva of today a reality.

To the adults and other members of the kibbutz has been added a new element—the sabras. They are the youth who are native Israelis. Most of them seem to feel a strong, chauvinistic spirit toward their new country. They are the realization of their parents' dream.

Although their parents came from approximately 80 different countries, the sabra represents the true Israeli in his culture, his way of life, his new dynamic spirit.

The Hebrew word, "sabra," is applied to a cactus plant which is hard and impervious on the outside, but quite soft and sensitive on the inside. This word describes the Israeli youth.

The sensitivity is derived from their heritage, their education, their social and moral code, and their human inadequacies. The external qualities of the sabra are his hardness, his spirit, his courage. These characteristics of sabras are most apparent when they serve in the army of Israel.

At Mazzuva there is a kibbutz army, the Nachal, composed of boys and girls from 18 to 20. These are sabras who are the new pioneers of both young and poorly established Kibbutzim, as well as the older Kibbutzim.

An average sabra in the Nachal could be called Moishe. Since Moishe is in the army, he is in prime physical condition and very proud of his strength, his birth, and his fortitude.

Moishe is a rebel with a cause. His family lives in Tel Aviv and is quite prosperous. Naturally, they want Moishe to live the same sort of existence they have chosen in Israel.

However, Moishe is a much greater idealist than his parents.

He believes in the kibbutz philosophy in pursuing socialistic concepts until a certain progress has been achieved. He feels that personal desire should be as limited as possible. The *raison d'être* he advocated is to have equality on all levels, to help his country without the use of personal gain and to raise his children without clan conflict.

For these reasons Moishe has left his home. He must first fulfill his compulsory army service, and second, become a part of the kibbutz movement. He especially wants to work in an underdeveloped kibbutz. To train for this future, Moishe has joined the Nachal. He lives in army barracks, but works in various kibbutz endeavors.

Moishe has been working in the banana fields for a long time. This has become his customary profession. At night, he puts his name down on the night watchman's list for 3:30 a.m. rising. This is the time he must get up to begin work in the banana fields at 4 a.m.

When he arrives at the banana plantation, he is given his usual job, which he will have for the entire summer. His task consists of selecting the ripe banana bunches, cutting them, covering the bunches from the sun, and cutting down the old banana plant. Moishe enjoys this work because of its physical difficulty as well as its importance to the kibbutz.

After working for 4 hours Moishe returns to the shack in the field to eat his well-earned breakfast.

Until 1 p.m. Moishe continues the same work with equal enjoyment and vigor. At the approaching hour, Moishe pulls himself, with shirt in hand, to the tractor. This time he jumps up on the flat wagon, having finished his work for the day. When he returns to the kibbutz, he has a pleasant main meal, which is like an American dinner.

After the meal, to the showers or a pool and then to bed. At 5:30, usually by instinct, Moishe awakes in time for his evening meal. For this meal, Moishe appears in army uniform. Although the attire is different from that worn at breakfast; nevertheless, the meal is the same.

After dinner there is more time for relaxation, dancing, and sleeping. But soon night falls. Moishe returns to the barracks, laughing, content, proud. The adults go back to their rooms. The children are asleep. Crickets awake, drowning out the sound of the sprinklers. The bright moonlight reveals the road, lined with the tall trees still winding its way through dark fields to Mazzuva gate.

**Extension of Public Laws 815 and 874
of 81st Congress and the National Defense Education Act of 1958**

SPEECH

OF

HON. JEFFERY COHELAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 6, 1961

Mr. COHELAN. Mr. Speaker, I will vote for H.R. 9000—which will extend the expired provisions of Public Law 815 and 874, and the National Defense Education Act for another two years—but I will do so with great reluctance. In fact, if this legislation were not of such great financial importance to my district, I would vote against it.

Let me make it clear that I fully recognize the importance of this legislation

in its own right. I believe, however, that it is a sad commentary on our perception of the crucial problems confronting us nationally in the field of education today when legislation as limited as this is the maximum effort which can be brought before the Congress. To be blunt, Mr. Speaker, I am sorely disappointed that the constructive proposals for dealing with our serious shortage of classrooms and qualified teachers—have been sidetracked.

I can only say that I am very hopeful that legislation of a similar magnitude will be brought before the House in the second session of this Congress, and that it will be passed.

Mr. Speaker, it is my best judgment that legislation of this nature is absolutely essential if we are to meet one of our fundamental commitments as a Nation—a commitment of insuring every child the opportunity for an education that will develop him to the fullest of his abilities. These are crucial times in which we live and nothing short of such an effort will enable us to remain strong and free as a nation—nothing short of such an effort will enable us to remain the leader of the free world in these troubled and difficult times.

Myers Bros.: Diamond Jubilee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PETER F. MACK, JR.

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. MACK. Mr. Speaker, this year Myers Bros. Department Store of Springfield, Ill., is celebrating its diamond jubilee. This store is as much a part of that city as the historic Lincoln shrines. In a sense it is a Lincoln shrine, as the present store is located on the site once occupied by a law office of Abraham Lincoln.

This occasion commemorates more than just 75 years in the retail business. It marks the consistent policy of the Myers Bros. to follow fundamental rules of responsibility of business in a country of free enterprise.

The combination of energetic work, business ingenuity, forward-thinking, and a tradition of providing top quality merchandise at the lowest possible price are the major ingredients of success in this "store that quality built." Coupled with this strictly business attitude, however, is the family's pride in their hometown. "Civic duty is the rent we pay for the space we occupy in our community," has been the motto of the Myers brothers since the founding of their business in 1886.

There is quite a contrast between the first and present stores. Myers Bros. in the beginning, was a two-story building, 22 feet wide, located on the west side of Lincoln Square and the Sangamon County Courthouse. Albert and Louis Myers, later joined by their younger brother Julius, purchased the

business in 1886 from Sam Rosenwald, whose faith in these young men was so profound that he personally chose them as the new owners and lent them money for the purchase of the store. Rosenwald was the father of Julius Rosenwald, who later became famous through his association with Sears, Roebuck & Co., and as a great philanthropist.

Albert and Louis started out with one clerk and credit to buy merchandise. But through economical management, they had cleared their indebtedness and were making a profit from their venture before the first year was out.

By 1900 the store had expanded from the potbellied stove and kerosene lamp atmosphere, and the business was moved into a brandnew five-story building on the corner of Fifth and Washington Streets.

In 1924, disaster struck, and the store was burned to the ground. Undaunted by this setback, the Myers brothers bought out a store down the street—lock, stock, and barrel—and were back in business the next day, making plans for their present 10-story home. Without a halt in operation or inconvenience to their customers, Myers Bros. were back with an expanded business in only 1 year.

This example is typical of how the Myers brothers weathered other rough times—wars, depressions, booms and booms. But as times and methods change, the Myers brothers family proved not only adaptable to such change, but succeeded in accumulating a record of leadership in both local and national business affairs.

Locally, Myers Bros. collected a string of "firsts." Their store was the first Springfield business ever honored with front-page recognition in the Wall Street Journal; the first to use color advertising, first to hold a live flower show in connection with spring openings, first to publish an extensive Sunday rotogravure section, first to carry a noncontributory pension plan for their employees, and first with store-home deliveries for their customers.

Countrywide recognition came when Julius Myers, now deceased, became the first president of the National Retail Merchants Association. Myers Bros. are also recipients of the sixth annual retail award plaque, 1954, citing them as brand name retailer of the year.

Thus, what began as a small store in a pioneer town has now blossomed into an established business with six branch stores throughout central Illinois, servicing Jacksonville, Danville, Lincoln, Mattoon, Havana, and Alton.

Myers Bros. have come the long way from a one-clerk operation to a payroll of 250 persons. Their average employee has 6 years' service, and many have 25 years or more. The store now has 67 selling departments, and 14 service departments, all coordinated and timed in buying and selling procedures to keep up with and anticipate current trends in the market.

The brothers themselves have contributed three generations of service to their business and their community. There is virtually no major civic group that has

not felt the personal help and leadership of one or more of the Myers brothers. From the founders to the present managers, Stanley C., Albert M., Alan J., James E., Morris and Louis, the Illinois State Capital and subsequently other communities have benefited by their devotion as active citizens.

Whether it is a Boy Scout, junior college, YMCA, hospital or civic club drive, one of the Myers family can always be found in assistance. To these men, such work is merely in keeping with their philosophy that "a growing and progressive community and a growing and progressive business are one and the same."

Thus, credit to Myers Bros. is not just a passing recognition of a successful business, which it is; but also the recognition of a sincere application of principles and integrity, in the quest for a better future. Myers Bros. are evidence of the fact that a strong community is based on the permanence of economic enterprise and faithful citizenship.

In closing I would like to note that the founders of this fine and upstanding business were close friends of my father, Peter F. Mack, Sr.; and I am proud to say that the present owners are good friends of mine.

Progress Report on Rural Areas Redevelopment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, the progress of the rural counties of the United States is just as vital, if not more vital in many ways, to the continued progress and prosperity of this country as our great cities. The establishment of the Area Redevelopment Agency in the U.S. Department of Commerce has been a good step in the right direction toward the relief of those cities hard hit by the recession which this country experienced the past year. I have long been interested in the plight of some of our more rural communities, and am pleased to be able to insert in the RECORD at this time, the following statement provided me by the U.S. Department of Agriculture telling of that Department's activities in the rural areas of the country. This is just another sign of the tremendous interest of the Kennedy administration in all our peoples, be they in cities or the rural areas. Under unanimous consent, I included this information in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PROGRESS REPORT ON RURAL AREAS DEVELOPMENT

The Department of Agriculture has launched a full-scale campaign to end rural poverty by aggressively promoting more jobs and other opportunities in the Nation's rural counties.

Since January 20 the Department has moved rapidly to mobilize its resources and personnel for a total program of rural areas development, which Secretary Freeman

terms, "more important to the long-range future of our Nation than any other program now being conducted by the Department."

In the short space of 7 months the new RAD program has gone into operation throughout the Nation, reinforced by new and strengthened services of the Department. Some highlights of the remarkable progress that's been made:

Establishment of a top level Department of Agriculture RAD Board and staff to get the program into operation.

Organization of State and local RAD activities, with Farmers Home Administration, Rural Electrification Administration, and Federal Extension Service assigned the full-time job of helping local groups get underway.

Naming of 487 rural counties as eligible for financial aid under the new Area Redevelopment Act, and direct USDA assistance to leaders in making use of ARA to strengthen their economies.

Stepped up rural electrification, farm credit, and small watershed work of the Department to make even greater resources available for rural development. Of particular importance is more imaginative use of REA section 5 loans to finance machinery in rural industries.

The task of rural areas development is national in scope, international in gravity. Today in the United States more than 36 percent of all farm families have incomes of less than \$2,000 a year. Last year, if underemployment in the Nation's farm regions were converted into terms of unemployment, there would have been 1.4 million persons in rural America unemployed.

ARA aims at more rapid economic growth in farm communities and small towns where these underemployed families live. This is a key factor in winning the cold war. The United States must prove to noncommitted peoples of the world, most of whom live in rural sections, that rural poverty and suffering can be eliminated at home. Otherwise they will turn to other governmental systems for an answer to their problems.

For both domestic and international reasons, therefore, Secretary Freeman has placed RAD at the top of his priority list of USDA objectives. In March 1961, as a first step, he established the Rural Areas Development Board representing 12 USDA agencies. In June he set up an Office of Rural Areas Development to staff and coordinate the program. At that time, the Secretary also assigned specific jobs to three key USDA agencies, with the aim of getting work started at the grassroots as soon as possible.

Farmers Home Administration is responsible for establishing RAD panels to supply State and local leaders with technical aid in promoting new enterprises.

Federal Extension Service is responsible for providing organizational and educational leadership to State and local RAD committees. These include civic leaders, farm and business representatives, rural electric borrowers, State development agencies, trade union representatives, and all other interested groups.

Rural Electrification Administration has the job of stimulating new business and other enterprises to build employment in rural areas.

Drawing on a broad background of work with farm and other rural people, each of these key USDA agencies has rapidly geared up for its RAD assignments.

Farmers Home Administration set up a special staff to handle RAD work, and is now holding a series of training meetings with key field personnel. REA also has a new staff of some 15 specialists who are helping communities develop new rural enterprises. Rural electric and telephone co-ops are enthusiastically joining in local RAD programs. For many rural electric co-ops, rural devel-

opment is tied in closely with their future operations. And in July Federal and State extension officials mobilized additional resources at National, State and county levels to support the program and conducted a series of regional meetings to intensify staff contributions for the program.

Other USDA agencies represented on the Department's RAD Board have also acted to strengthen and step up those programs that promote area development.

This rapid action on the part of the Department of Agriculture has resulted in RAD program organizations in 38 States, with local program districts of two or more rural counties already organized in 25 States.

The Department of Agriculture also has the job of helping eligible rural counties obtain benefits under the new Area Redevelopment Act. These benefits include Federal loans and grants for public works and industrial development, technical aid, and retraining of workers, including farmers and farmworkers.

Among the Department's major assignments under the act are selecting rural counties to receive assistance; reviewing area plans for development; and most important, helping local leaders put together plans and projects that will take full advantage of the new ARA program.

Because of the Department's already existing organization for Rural Areas Development, rapid progress has been made in selecting rural counties for the ARA programs, formulating area-wide plans, and setting up local groups capable of running the program in the rural (5b) areas.

Nearly a third of the Nation's counties are covered by areas now eligible to apply for the ARA program, including 487 rural counties in 41 States and Puerto Rico. Long-range economic development plans for revitalizing their economies already have been approved for 180 counties in 22 States. The majority of these are rural redevelopment counties, assisted by the Department of Agriculture, or other similar areas with large numbers of underemployed people living in farm areas.

ARA is another tool the Department of Agriculture is using to promote maximum economic development in farming areas, along with its own extremely important kit of area development services and aids.

Many of these regular programs of the Department which implement and further local area development plans have been stepped up in this revitalized Rural Areas Development campaign against rural poverty.

Since early 1961, REA has approved 144 electrification loans amounting to \$166,781,000 and 125 telephone loans totaling \$42,594,000. Loans for generating and transmission facilities amounted to 57.6 percent of the electric total, and included a \$60 million loan, largest in REA's 26-year history, to Hoosier Cooperative Energy, Inc., of Indiana.

On September 8, REA approved a \$25,000 loan to a rural electric cooperative which will enable a small North Dakota firm to add equipment and create new jobs in a farming area. It was made under the consumer financing provision (section 5) of the Rural Electrification Act. REA policy on loans to help consumers acquire electrical equipment has been expanded to gear this lending program to the needs of rural areas for increased nonfarm income.

Between January 1 and August 1, 1961, 55 small watershed projects including 4.5 million acres were authorized to receive planning assistance, and 36 projects including 1.6 million acres were authorized for operations. On August 1, 325 projects including 18.6 million acres had been authorized for operations.

Between May 19 and August 14 President Kennedy sent to the Congress for approval work plans for 54 watershed projects including 3.9 million acres, the largest number

sent to the Congress in a 90-day period since the program was authorized in 1954.

The Farmers Home Administration had a sharp rise in lending activity during the past 7 months and ended the 1961 fiscal year lending \$397 million, an all-time high.

Recent legislation is now being implemented which will make a more adequately financed, broadened, and expanded credit program available to a wider range of farmers, particularly young farmers just getting started and farm families on the smaller farms.

Under the Housing Act of 1961 rural residents including those living in small communities are now eligible along with farmers for more than \$430 million rural housing loan funds available over the next 4 years to construct, improve, or repair homes and related facilities.

Secretary Freeman has called the achievement of full prosperity in America's rural areas "a key factor in the world contest with communism."

"I believe that in the rural areas development program we have the weapon to wipe away the chronic depression which now enchains many areas, it can lift the curse of underemployment which saps the strength of our rural economy in every area and it takes the first step toward the permanent prosperity of the rural community.

"This program, combined with the freedom of economic choice which the Kennedy farm legislation will provide the farmer, will help restore full freedom of economic opportunity to those who live in rural America," the Secretary said.

BEN-GURION FORESEES DEMOCRACY IN SOVIET

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, a Republican did not make the following statement as reported in the September 11 New York Times; perhaps it will now be believed:

BEN-GURION FORESEES DEMOCRACY IN SOVIET

JERUSALEM (ISRAEL SECTOR), September 10.—Premier David Ben-Gurion said today that if the cold war would end, in 20 years the United States would be a welfare state and the Soviet Union a democratic country.

The caretaker Premier made the prediction in an interview for the newspaper *Yedion Achronot* on the eve of the Jewish New Year.

Mr. Ben-Gurion also drew a sweeping picture for the future of Israel. Within 40 years, he said, Israel's population of just over 2 million will double. Much of the population growth, he said, will occur in the desert region of the Negev.

In light of the above, the following column by David Lawrence in the September 11 New York Herald Tribune is of interest:

STEEL PRICE CURBS VIEWED AS ROAD TO COMMUNISM

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Kennedy administration has crossed the Rubicon. It has decided to make war on conservative economics and embark on a course of radical economics. It is ignoring the risk that it may plunge the country into more unemployment within

the next 18 months and bring about perhaps the worst recession since the 1930's.

For President Kennedy has determined to put certain limits on business profits and the return on investments that stockholders have hitherto expected when putting their savings into private enterprise. The net result could be the gradual collapse of the private-enterprise system in America and the beginning of that era of socialism which Nikita Khrushchev has predicted will inevitably lead to communism in another generation in the United States.

President Kennedy's crucial step came a few days ago when he openly threatened the steel industry with reprisals by Government unless it agreed to forego any price increases at this time. Mr. Kennedy vaguely promised that next year, when the unions ask for still higher wages, he would urge "moderation." He didn't define the term. But the entire business world noted that Mr. Kennedy significantly refused to ask the unions at this time to forego the additional wage increases scheduled for them at the end of this month under a contract signed early in 1960 after a long strike.

The steel industry thus far has absorbed a 10-percent rise in labor costs since 1958 without a price increase. Fairplay would seem to require that, since the steel industry has already absorbed this large increase in wages without a price rise, the least that Mr. Kennedy might have done was to ask labor to cancel its increase scheduled for October 1 this year.

COMPARISON IS MADE

But the Kennedy administration has sitting in the Cabinet, as Secretary of Labor, the man who was general counsel of the biggest steel union in the country. Had there been a Secretary of Commerce in a Republican administration who had previously been a leader in the steel industry—either as president of a large company or as its principal negotiator just a few months earlier during a major strike—the howl that would have gone up about "conflict of interest" would have been heard from coast to coast.

Industry has no voice in the Kennedy Cabinet. The Secretary of Commerce is afraid of his shadow and allowed himself to be influenced by the radicals in the administration when he ordered the virtual suppression of the Business Advisory Council which had existed for decades as a means of communication between business and the executive branch of the Government.

President Kennedy's procedure in writing a letter to 12 steel companies and in immediately making it public is the subject of sharp criticism. He did not invite these steel executives to come to Washington beforehand to give their side of the issue. He took them by surprise as he issued his letter and threatened restrictive measures if they didn't obey.

This is one of the most surprising moves any President has made in recent years, and it is small wonder that it is being regarded as the beginning of a series of hostile acts to throttle American enterprise and to pave the way for nationalization or socialization of the larger industries in America.

ADVISERS BLAMED

Mr. Kennedy himself has never been regarded as a radical, but he has surrounded himself with advisers who sincerely believe in Government ownership. In giving their advice, they can hardly refrain from advocating a philosophy which could eventually mean the end of private capitalism in America. Every one of these advisers hates communism and all that Mr. Khrushchev stands for, but, as is the case in Britain with the Socialist Laborites who favor nationalization of industry, they don't always realize the ultimate consequences of current action.

Mr. Kennedy is not himself an economist. He finds himself lost in economic jargon and economic arguments, and tends to follow what seems to him a plausible policy. His economic advisers concede that it is a most hazardous undertaking to estimate future output and profits in steel, but they did it just the same and took no account of the need of different companies to buy new plant and equipment or to continue to earn a proper return on investors' money. Instead, a blanket order was favored that would cut profit margins and let labor have its October 1 increase just the same.

Meanwhile, the Department of Justice is engaging in a crusade against large business enterprises by brandishing antitrust suits in their faces almost every day. It is interesting to note that the executives of the 12 companies which got the President's identical letter are virtually forbidden to discuss it with each other, since the subject is price-making. The steel companies could be hauled into court for price collusion if they as much as sat down together to discuss what kind of replies they should make as an industry.

Indeed, the future of all trade associations in America may well be in jeopardy if the Kennedy administration cries out price fixing every time business leaders go to an annual convention of their industry to discuss common problems, including threats coming from foreign competition. The annual meeting of the American Iron & Steel Institute had, for instance, long been scheduled for this week, but it was canceled for fear that any meeting of steel executives at this time would be misunderstood. And all this happens in "free" America.

HIGH COMMISSIONER GODING REPORTS TO THE UNITED NATIONS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, among the lesser known areas under the legislative jurisdiction of the Congress of the United States through its House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which I have the honor to be chairman, is the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

This 300,000-square-mile area, located in the western Pacific, is longer than the United States but contains only 687 square miles of land upon which resides roughly 76,000 inhabitants. The territory belongs to the United Nations but is administered by Interior Department's High Commissioner of Trust Territory and his staff.

Each year the High Commissioner reports in writing and verbally to the United Nations Trusteeship Council on the preceding year's activities. On June 14, 15, and 16, I, and several members of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs: Representatives Westland, Carey, Durno, Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, of Puerto Rico, and our committee counsel, T. R. Witmer, attended the Council meetings and were well pleased with the manner in which High Commissioner M. Wilfred Goding,

former High Commissioner D. H. Nucker, and Mr. Tosiwo Nakayama, President of the Trukese Congress and adviser to Mr. Goding, presented their statements, answered their questioners, and explained their administration to the Trusteeship Council members.

Mr. Speaker, I submit four statements for reading by our colleagues. The first three are presentations by High Commissioner Goding and the fourth by Special Adviser Nakayama. The first statement follows:

It is a privilege to appear before this body as the special representative of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This is the first time that I have had the honor of serving in this capacity, and I look forward to receiving the comments and suggestions of this body.

On May 1 of this year I was appointed High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, and my tenure in the territory, thus, has been very brief. I have, however, visited four of the districts and have had the opportunity to observe firsthand district-level problems and needs. The Administering Authority also has designated Mr. [Delmas H.] Nucker, the former High Commissioner who is well known to the council, to serve with me as a second special representative for this session, and with your permission I will be referring to him questions on past events and programs with which I may not be familiar in detail. For my part I shall endeavor to the best of my ability to amplify or clarify any questions on present and proposed programs.

This year's review by this council has several important and significant features. A new national administration has come into being in the United States, and a new High Commissioner has been appointed for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. The council also has before it for review the comprehensive report of the 1961 visiting mission in addition to our annual report. The combination of these factors gives our administration a unique opportunity to review accomplishments of the past 10 years, to reassess needs, and to plan programs for the future.

The visiting mission was the fifth mission to inspect the territory. It was also the first to devote its attention exclusively to our territory. Accordingly the mission was able to spend approximately twice the time in our area than had any other previous mission. This enabled the members to visit more areas, to hold more conferences with the staff and local Micronesian groups, and to conduct more public meetings. It afforded them the opportunity to delve deeply into specific problems. The mission penetrated into village areas near district centers, where shortness of time previously had prevented visits. Equally important, the mission was able to visit more out-islands than any previous mission. The travels of the mission by plane, by motorboat, by outrigger canoe, by jeep, and by foot—and, I am told, on one memorable occasion by swimming on the part of at least one member—brought to the members, perhaps more than to any previous mission, an appreciation of the many difficulties imposed by our peculiar logistic system, our extremely limited natural resources, and the differences in language and custom which exist throughout the territory. The 1961 mission had an unparalleled opportunity to participate firsthand in the unique difficulties which confront us in trying to handle the many phases of social, economic, and political development. The mission performed its task conscientiously, ably, and with great devotion. On behalf of the Administering Authority I wish to thank the members of the mission for their valuable report and to assure the council that the

recommendations will be studied with care and given every consideration.

Since our annual report and the visiting mission report provide the council with much detail on specific programs, I propose today to sketch only the highlights of our major activities since June 30, 1960, up to the present time.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Significant progress has been made on all levels in the field of political development.

The fifth annual meeting of the Interdistrict Advisory Committee met last August to consider problems of common interest in the territory. A holdover subcommittee on economic development was elected and given the task of visiting all districts to study problems of economic development, and the committee has done so. Its report, along with that of the social development subcommittee—both excellent reports—will be important agenda items at the forthcoming interdistrict conference this summer. This year it is proposed that the interdistrict conference elect a third holdover subcommittee—on political development—to work on common problems in the political field. Thus three subcommittees dealing with major areas of interest will be available during the year to advise the High Commissioner's office.

Two events of note concerning the Interdistrict Advisory Committee might be mentioned.

At its spring session the Palau District Congress passed a bill calling for popular election of the interdistrict delegates rather than election by the Congress, as is now the case. This bill is still in committee, but I propose to approve it when it is submitted and further intend to call it to the attention of the other district congresses for their consideration.

At the meeting next September Saipan District will send two full-fledged delegates, rather than an observer as has been the case in the past.

Both of these events, we believe, will aid in developing more of a territory-wide consciousness among the people of the districts.

By the end of the next year all delegates to the interdistrict body should be elected at large from their respective districts. One of the main tasks of the proposed subcommittee on political development will be to work out plans, in collaboration with district leaders, for conversion of the present Interdistrict Committee into a Territorial Council. We envision, if the present rate of political growth and progress continues, that by 1965 we should have a territorial legislative council in existence.

Political development on a district level has been most satisfactory. The spring sessions of the various district congresses have just been concluded, and they were, in our estimation, the most successful to date. Palau Congress, for example, sat in session twice as long as at any prior session and thus was able to devote more time to study the bills before them. The visiting mission had an opportunity to meet with representatives of the district congresses in all districts, and the members will attest, I am certain, to the sincerity and concern of these district congresses to the problems of their respective districts.

On a municipal level work continued on the formal chartering program. Since the establishment in 1959 of the target of chartering all municipalities, 43 have been chartered and our goal of chartering on an average of 10 municipalities a year has been realized to date. The municipalities closest and most accessible to the district center have been chartered first. Palau and Ponape Districts now have each chartered all but one of their municipalities. The Marshalls, Truk, and Yap Districts, which have isolated out-island municipalities, are now beginning to move out into the remote areas

with terms of political development workers. Increasing emphasis will be placed this coming year on training of local political development teams for this phase of local political development. There is an increasing awareness amongst the inhabitants of common political interests. It is our intention to foster and encourage all steps which will aid in increasing and solidifying this consciousness. One such step I propose to take this coming year is to add a political affairs officer to my staff.

ADMINISTRATION

Among the major events of general administrative significance during the past year were a number of interrelated changes concerning the Micronesian title and pay plan. These consisted of the institution of an approximate overall pay raise of 10 percent for all employees, the establishment of a longevity wage schedule, and the establishment of a senior professional and executive category with a special wage schedule designed to compensate adequately the Micronesians who qualify for these top positions. A very recent change was the institution of an annual salary pattern for these senior professional and executive employees in place of the former hourly wage system. This change was the direct result of an informal recommendation made by the visiting mission at the time of their visit. This institution of an annual salary, we feel, will add to the prestige and dignity of these top positions.

The general administrative goal of replacing American staff with trained and qualified Micronesians has moved steadily forward. Since 1951 some 60 major positions held by Americans have been taken over by Micronesian counterparts. For example, during the past year two additional American hospital administrators were replaced, thus leaving only two districts at the present time with American hospital administrators. An additional finance officer position was filled by a qualified Micronesian with the result that all districts but one now have Micronesian finance officers.

Micronesians also are increasingly taking over senior administrative positions. In Palau, for example, during the past year the administration activities were divided into two major departments, those of public administration and administrative services, and each is headed by a Palauan. It is anticipated that within the near future these particular individuals may become our first assistant district administrators. Other districts also are grooming Micronesians for senior administrative posts. In Rota the administrative officer, a Rotanese, already has served on several occasions as acting district administrator and is the second-ranking officer of the district.

The training program for Micronesians in all fields was intensified during the year through the inservice training project at headquarters. Special training courses and inservice training also were in process at the district level.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Copra production, which had fallen in 1958 and 1959 due to the effects of several typhoons, increased during the past fiscal year to almost 11,000 tons. A favorable price on the world market during fiscal year 1960 resulted in income of approximately \$1,587,000, which was the highest level thus far attained in the territory.

In the first 9 months of the present fiscal year a total of 10,500 short tons of copra was produced, and if this rate of production continues, total copra production at the end of June 1961 may well reach 13,000 tons. A somewhat unfavorable market price of the past 6 months, however, has reduced the copra price paid to the producer this past year. Yet in spite of the falling market, we have been able, through our Copra Stabiliza-

tion Fund, to maintain a price of \$110 for grade I copra the past 6 months. Total revenue for the present fiscal year is anticipated to be about \$1,600,000. Unfavorable market conditions continued to bring about a decline in trochus production in the territory. The total revenue from trochus dropped from the \$174,000 figure of the previous year to \$148,000 for fiscal year 1960. Vegetable produce and fish export revenue, on the other hand, materially increased, almost doubling in the case of vegetable exports from \$60,000 in 1959 to \$104,000 in 1960. Fish export revenue rose from \$19,000 in 1959 to \$27,000 in 1960, and if local and interdistrict sales are added, fish revenue totaled approximately \$100,000 for the year.

Interest in cacao has been maintained at a high level. Two hundred and sixty-five thousand new trees have been planted since the cacao subsidy program started 2 years ago; the majority, 200,000, were planted since January 1961. The cacao subsidy program originally called for a quota of 100,000 trees, and all but 10,000 of these have been planted. The remaining 10,000 of the subsidy trees are scheduled for Palau and Yap districts. The cacao program in these two districts is being intensified this coming year. It will be noted that as many trees have been planted by farmers on their own as have been planted under direct subsidy.

The first shipment of cacao, a sample shipment of 1,250 pounds, was sold in early 1961 on the world market and was rated as very good to excellent in quality.

From the interest demonstrated in the cacao program, the cacao specialist anticipates that there will be considerable increase in the number of plantings this coming year. Truk farmers have ordered 350,000 nursery planting bags, and Ponape farmers 250,000 planting bags. While not all these nursery seedlings will survive, it is conceivable, particularly if the Yap and Palau plantings are added, that half a million new cacao seedlings will be planted this coming year.

As the visiting mission report indicated, interest and concern in economic development is prevalent at all levels. District economic development boards are taking an increasingly active role in local economic affairs. The activities of these boards include the organization of credit unions and cooperatives, fisheries projects, development of handicraft, and small-scale industries such as charcoalmaking, boatbuilding, brick, and ceramic manufacture, coir fiber products, and small-scale hydroelectric power projects in areas where such development is feasible. The district congresses and administration authorities are working closely with these local economic boards.

It has been noted by members of this council in the past and by visiting missions that many small-scale industries and activities which flourished in the prewar era have not been rehabilitated or revived. Many of these activities were run by Japanese entrepreneurs and catered almost exclusively to the Japanese community or to the Japanese market. Others, like the sugar industry, were heavily subsidized by the Japanese Government for byproducts such as industrial alcohol. These activities were conducted in direct support of or in preparation for the Japanese war effort. In certain instances markets which formerly were found in Japan for local fiber products no longer exist, since synthetics now have taken over these markets. This administration, however, will make every effort to give encouragement and support to those industrial developments which offer promise for the local economy.

Since 1945 a number of detailed economic surveys have been made of the territory. The economic potential of the area, thus, has been quite well defined. We intend though to reevaluate all such economic reports and to update the analyses, in line with previous recommendations made by this

body. Presently we are in the process of strengthening the economic staff at the headquarters level. Recruitment of an economic development officer as well as a marketing expert will be undertaken immediately. The first function of the economic development staff this coming year will be to bring up to date all available economic data concerning the territory, as well as to give support and aid to specific local developmental projects.

Strengthening of district economic administration activities also is underway. The district economic boards have been mentioned earlier, and each district has staff in the economic development field. Saipan district, for example, recently added an American economic development officer to the district staff, and it is understood that his service will be available for territorywide programs in fields of his special competence. In other districts Micronesians hold these positions, with American staff members serving in advisory capacities on the local economic development boards.

Banking facilities now are available in three districts in the northern Marshalls through the Bank of Hawaii branch in Kwajalein, in Saipan through the Bank of America, and in Truk district through a branch bank of the Bank of America. A fourth district, Palau, will have banking facilities within a few months, since a branch bank of the Bank of Hawaii is slated to begin operations there in late or early September of this year. The Saipan bank already has a Saipanese manager. In the other district banks there is an American resident manager. However, all other staff is Micronesian, and training programs underway call for eventual replacement of the American manager.

Mounting interest in credit unions and cooperatives is seen. During the past year five credit unions have been formed in Palau District alone, and this coming month a territory wide credit union training course for participants from all the districts will be conducted in Palau. A copra and cacao producing and marketing cooperative has been formed in the Truk Atoll. The members of the visiting mission had an opportunity to be in on the birth of this pioneer copra and cacao cooperative, and they will be interested to learn that the Faichuk cooperative (named for the Leewards Islands of the Truk Atoll) already has 900 applicants, has raised \$3,000 in membership shares, and currently is negotiating for a loan of \$12,000 from the Administration Loan Fund for the purchase of copra-hauling boats. This loan, I can assure the council, will be approved by the administration.

Additional improvement of our transportation system is anticipated this coming fall when a new field-trip ship, now being built to our specific requirements, will be placed in operation. This new ship will have cargo capacity equal to that of the present larger ships now used for field-trip service; it will have increased and better passenger facilities and should be more economical to operate.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer the second of a series of four statements for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The statement was presented to the United Nations Trusteeship Council by High Commissioner M. Wilfred Goding.

Mr. Goding's statement continues as follows:

AGRICULTURE

The program of coconut rehabilitation and replanting has been moving steadily forward. Approximately 300,000 selected seed nuts were distributed under the coconut development program this past year.

The typhoon rehabilitation programs initiated after the disastrous typhoons of 1958 and 1959 in the Marshalls, Truk, and Yap

districts are progressing very satisfactorily and all are ahead of schedule. In the areas of complete or almost complete destruction, however, it will be another 5 years before the new palms will begin to bear. Last December saw another disastrous typhoon strike in Yap district, but serious damage was confined mainly to Ulithi Atoll. Widespread destruction in Ulithi necessitated the establishment of a long-range relief and rehabilitation program. Since the visiting mission visited one of the islands of Ulithi Atoll before major clearing had begun and before long-range rehabilitation work had started, I particularly wish to report on the recent progress of this program. The Americans agriculturist who will be in charge of the Ulithi rehabilitation project is now on the job as are two Yapese extension agriculturists. Temporary schools and dispensaries have been built on all the islands which suffered damage. Funds for the construction of five permanent combination school and dispensary buildings, which also are to be used for typhoon shelters, have been set aside. Work on these will start as soon as the major replanting, which must have precedence, is under control. The clearing and replanting is underway on all the islands, but the severity of damage will necessitate some 12 to 18 months of hard work before the bulk of the major replanting will be completed. A food relief program has been established, and housing materials, tools, boats, and other essential items have been furnished to the inhabitants.

The agriculture extension program has been strengthened in all districts. A Territory Farm Institute, the first true agricultural training school in the territory, is being built in Ponape and is scheduled to open this coming January. The program of sending promising students abroad for training in tropical agriculture has been accelerated. One scholarship from each district per year now is earmarked for study in tropical agriculture, and currently 10 agriculture scholarship students are studying agriculture in the Philippines.

One of the most significant developments in our insect eradication program has been the experimental work on Rota conducted by the U.S. Department of Agriculture in collaboration with the trust territory and the U.S. Navy on the control of the serious pests, the oriental fruit fly and the melon fly, through the use of irradiated sterile flies. Several million sterile flies have been released on Rota since December 1960, and the experimental program should be finished by the end of this coming fiscal year. Work on the rhinoceros beetle control continues through biological and sanitation measures. Other entomological control activities are being carried out as part of a long-range entomological program.

Our fisheries development project, which is explained in detail in our annual report, received a setback some months ago by the death of the territory's fisheries management officer. A replacement reported for duty early this month, and the program again will soon be in full operation. Among the major scheduled goals for the coming year are the opening of a Trust Territory School of Fisheries in Palau, completion of a 25-ton freezing plant, and completion of fish storage facilities. These projects will be followed by the establishment of a pilot fish cannery, construction of suitable types of fishing boats, and other subsidiary projects. Smaller scale fishery development projects are also under consideration in the other districts.

CONSTRUCTION

Construction of needed facilities has continued in all districts. The new hospital for Palau District is over 85 percent completed. In Truk the dock project passed the halfway mark. As previously outlined to this body, the dock project at Truk is designed to give that district dock facilities

capable of handling large oceangoing vessels. When the dock is completed, ships from the United States and elsewhere will be able to pick up copra and to discharge cargo at Truk. This is a major construction program which, when completed, should bring material benefits to the Truk area. In the Marshalls, the construction of the new intermediate school buildings is well underway, and some of the buildings, such as school dormitories, should be in use with the opening of school this fall. The new intermediate school dormitories at Truk also will be ready for occupancy this fall. On Saipan two units are in operation in the new Hopwood Intermediate School. Five more units will be added during the coming year. Work has begun on new hospitals in the Marshall Islands and Saipan Districts. Elsewhere rehabilitation and construction of refrigeration plants, powerplants, administration buildings, administration housing, road repairs, and other activities were carried out during the year as part of the regular construction program.

PUBLIC HEALTH

In six of our seven districts the district public-health programs are headed by qualified Micronesian directors of public health. The district health activities center around nine hospitals, from which all the medical service to outlying areas through health aids, dispensaries, and field-trip medical parties flow.

Postgraduate training for Micronesian medical and dental staff has been stepped up this year with the institution of a refresher program in special and general subjects for selected Micronesian medical officers at the naval hospital in Guam. A similar post-graduate course is underway for dental officers at the naval base dental facility in Guam, and an administrative training course for head nurses at the naval hospital will be conducted this coming year.

The first graduates of the new school of dental hygienists received their diplomas last week at the graduation ceremonies at Majuro, where the school is located.

Specialized public-health training in other fields, particularly in sanitation and laboratory work, was accelerated during the year. The sanitation department has held special courses for sanitarians at the district centers and has sent interdistrict sanitarian teams to work for a month or more at a time in selected districts. A special postgraduate training course for sanitarians currently is underway in Guam in cooperation with the Guam Department of Sanitation. Special teaching courses are conducted for laboratory technicians at the various hospitals, and the chief laboratory technician additionally conducts special training programs for small interdistrict teams at times throughout the year.

A Micronesian, Mr. Nachsa Siren, of Truk, who had been serving as acting director of sanitation, was appointed several months ago as director of sanitation and has the honor of being the first Micronesian division head on the High Commissioner's staff. Another Micronesian sanitarian now is being groomed for the position of assistant director of sanitation.

Tuberculosis, which is our major health problem, has continued to receive constant attention. By the end of June 30, 1961, the assistant director of public health will have completed the setting up of specialized tuberculosis treatment and control teams in all districts. The BCD vaccination program proceeds as a regular part of the tuberculosis control project.

Health education is conducted through joint efforts of the department of public health and department of education. The department of public health has established the position of health educator on the district public health staff to permit the ex-

pansion of this essential type of health education. District congresses also are showing increasing awareness in this aspect of health education. The Truk Congress, this past year, established and financed a health educator position in addition to the administration program.

Considerable progress was made this year on hospital construction, as indicated in my comments on the overall construction program. Additionally, the construction of a complete new hospital was started this month in Saipan. The clearing of the site and installation of water and power facilities are completed, and actual construction work on the buildings is slated to begin before the end of the month. When completed, the hospital will be entirely staffed by Saipanese.

A new hospital for Truk District is scheduled for 1963, and ground will be broken for it in late 1962. Budget plans for a new hospital for Ponape for fiscal year 1963 are also under consideration.

EDUCATION

It has been the aim of our education system to provide a type of education which would equip the Micronesians for more effective participation in their developing society. Requirements for Micronesian leadership in all fields, and the progress of social, economic, and political growth demand that the role of education and training must occupy a vital place.

Half of the population of our particular territory is under the age of 20. This dramatizes the many problems we face in our education program since all the usual problems of a developing educational system are magnified by a factor of a rapidly expanding school-age population. Here the great challenge lies, since it is these young people who will mold the future of Micronesia. We can meet this challenge only by the administration and the communities joining forces in an attempt to provide the best possible education in terms of local circumstances and needs for the youth of Micronesia.

Our annual report has a detailed description of our educational program, and I shall only cite a few noteworthy items of the past year at this time. One-fifth of our population—some 15,000—is enrolled in the public and private schools of the territory. The bulk of all district congress revenues goes for the support of the elementary school-teachers.

District school boards and congresses working in collaboration with the administration departments of education have standardized teacher requirements and salaries.

For the past several weeks the social development subcommittee has been studying the problems of the elementary and intermediate schools in the districts. The committee's report will be one of the major items of this year's interdistrict conference. We propose also to discuss at this conference the comments and recommendations of the visiting mission on our educational program.

During the year a trust territorywide curriculum for intermediate schools was developed and put into effect. The new unified curriculum has taken the best features of the various district intermediate school curriculums, and its implementation should substantially improve the level of our intermediate school training.

Policies with respect to English-language instruction in the elementary schools will be subjected to careful reappraisal, especially in the light of the comments and recommendations made in the report of the visiting mission.

Our teacher-training program has been intensified in all districts, and continued and increased emphasis is planned for this vital part of our educational program. Planning is underway for the establishment of a teacher-training department as an ad-

junct of the Pacific Islands Central School.

The grant-in-aid project has been accelerated. Sixteen new elementary schools either have been built or are currently under construction through the grant-in-aid program. Others are anticipated for this coming year.

Advanced education outside the territory is an important aspect of the overall education program. The district congresses more and more are recognizing this importance, and the budgets of several congresses this year had appropriations for special scholarship aid. The administration continues its program of offering three scholarships per district each year in the fields of general education, agriculture, and vocational arts. Additional scholarships are given in special professional categories, in medicine, and in a variety of special categories.

CLAIM SETTLEMENT

The only remaining land claims of significance are those of Majuro Atoll and Kwajalein Atoll. As the council is aware from previous meetings and reports, it has not been possible to reach a satisfactory agreement on settlement. However, active negotiations are now being conducted looking to a mutually agreeable and satisfactory settlement of this most perplexing problem.

STATUS OF DISPLACED MARSHALLESE

The general adjustment of the people of Kili and Ujelang has been satisfactory. Annual interest payments from their trust funds give the people of these two islands a regular cash income in addition to their subsistence economy and cash proceeds from the sale of copra. The agricultural rehabilitation program on Ujelang has been completed, and regular field service on an average of every 2 months has been maintained for the past 2 years.

At Rongelap the agricultural rehabilitation program has been virtually completed, and the American agriculturist has turned over the supervision of this program to a Marshallese extension agriculturist. The medical survey on the Rongelap people was carried out last March by a team composed of Trust Territory medical staff and Atomic Energy Commission specialists. Preliminary results of this year's medical survey again indicated that no aftermaths of fallout are discernible and the general health of the Rongelapese is satisfactory.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Contact with international organizations has been maintained on a number of levels. Three Micronesians during the year studied in the United States, the Philippines, and Burma under United Nations fellowships in the fields of social defense and social welfare. Headquarters and district staff personnel during the year participated in South Pacific Commission conferences in the fields of health education and cooperatives. Two Micronesian delegates currently are participating in a conference on youth problems now being held in the neighboring trust territory of Australian New Guinea.

WAR-DAMAGE CLAIMS

With respect to the question of war-damage claims, the U.S. Government recognizes that, as a result of damages suffered during the period of hostilities between the United States and Japan, certain inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands suffered loss of life, bodily injury, and damage to property. As a result of these damages there have arisen valid and just claims on the part of the inhabitants which must be satisfied. The United States recognizes its obligation as the administering authority of the territory to see to it that every effort is made to deal promptly and equitably with such claims.

This matter is considered by us to be one of the highest priority. Within the last 2

weeks our administration has taken action to institute an evaluation of the extent and nature of claims which may warrant compensation, and we have designated a task force to carry out that inquiry. We have advised the Japanese Government that we will resume negotiations with it on this subject as soon as this evaluation has been completed.

I am grateful to have this opportunity to present this brief summary. We shall attempt to provide any additional information which members of this Council may desire in connection with the report of the visiting mission or our annual report.

High Commissioner Goding's Closing Statement to the United Nations Trusteeship Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the third in a series of statements presented to the United Nations Trusteeship Council concerning the U.S. administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This statement was delivered by High Commissioner M. Wilfred Goding following extensive questioning by members of the Council.

Mr. Goding's statement follows:

On behalf of my colleagues, Mr. Nucker and Mr. Nakayama, I should like to express their deep appreciation for the kindness and courtesy extended to them by members of this Council. I know that Mr. Nakayama will take back to the people of the territory the warm expressions of friendship that have been extended to them by the Trusteeship Council. Mr. Nucker, who cannot be here today, wishes me to convey his heartfelt thanks for the tributes paid him by members of this body during this session. I concur in these expressions that Mr. Nucker carried out his duties as High Commissioner in a devoted and outstanding manner and that he will be sorely missed by the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

For my own part I wish to express my appreciation to all members of the Council for the kind words of welcome they extended to me. I am especially grateful, Mr. President, for the patience and courtesy you have demonstrated toward me during the course of the meeting.

I propose to make a very brief concluding statement, since I feel that the exhaustive examination which has been made of the visiting mission report and our annual report during the past 2 weeks has covered almost every aspect of conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and has presented clarification on almost all points. I do wish, however, to comment briefly on several specific points brought out in the questioning and in the general debate.

I have been most impressed by the sincerity with which the members of the council have approached the problems of our trust territory. Though we might not necessarily agree with all the interpretations, suggestions, and recommendations, I have felt that, with the exception of those made by one delegation, all have been offered in a spirit of cooperation and constructive assistance. As such, they are worthy of seri-

ous reflection on our part, and I can assure the council that they will receive careful review.

I am grateful for the interventions of the distinguished chairman of the visiting mission, Ambassador (Carlos) Salamanca (of Bolivia), as well as those of his colleagues on the mission, during the questioning to amplify certain sections of the visiting mission report. These amplifications I found to be most helpful and informative. They aided me greatly in placing the visiting mission report in proper perspective.

ENCOURAGING DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

As I assume my duties as High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, I am deeply aware that Micronesia, once remote, isolated, and little touched by the outside world, is entering the mainstream of the political and economic life that is now quickening the entire Pacific area. It is our role as administering authority to encourage and assist the people of the Trust Territory to participate actively and fully in this development. Our own attitude was aptly summarized by the distinguished representative of Paraguay in the following words:

"We wish to do everything possible to advance the moment when the people of the trust territory to participate actively and the peoples of other territories, have achieved a sufficient degree of political maturity and training to enable them to establish their own political institutions and decide their own destiny."

The development of a trust territory-wide political consciousness and the establishment of central government organizations in which Micronesians will play roles of rapidly increasing responsibility are matters of great concern to this council and to the administering authority. This concern underlies the interest in such specific areas as the transfer of the Northern Marianas District to civilian administration, the remodeling of the Interdistrict Advisory Committee of the legislative body, and the location of the headquarters within the trust territory.

The Interdistrict Advisory Committee was organized some 6 years ago and has been looked upon as the future legislative organ of the trust territory. We have outlined certain concrete steps which are being taken to establish within the near future a legislative council solidly based upon the experience and knowledge gained from the Advisory Committee. At the risk of repetition, we should like to point out again that it is proposed at the next session to create a hold-over subcommittee on political development. Its work will supplement and round out the work of the older social development and economic development subcommittees.

Secondly, the Saipan district will send delegates to the September meeting of the Committee, rather than observers as in the past. We anticipate that the active participation of the Saipan representatives as delegates will be a major contribution to the work of the Committee. Thirdly, we shall work toward the popular election of all delegates to the Interdistrict Committee.

LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT

In my opening statement I commented that, if the present rate of political growth and progress continues, we envision the existence of a territorial legislative council by 1965. We believe that the present rate of growth will continue and, in fact, hope that it will accelerate. We do not, therefore, regard 1965 as being the earliest possible date for the creation of a territorial legislature. It will be our policy to advance this date, if possible, and we are hopeful of being able to do so. Thus, we can assure the distinguished representative from the United Arab Republic and his colleague, the distinguished representative from France, that,

for our part, we shall seek to speed the formation of a territorial legislative council.

A word is necessary with respect to the location of the trust territory government headquarters. I hasten to point out that the administering authority agrees that ultimately the headquarters should and will be located within the trust territory itself. While we would further agree that the location of national capitals has frequently been a matter of historical happenstance, we also believe that the people can and should have an opportunity to influence the selection, as has been the tradition in the United States. To this end I have suggested that the Interdistrict Committee should meet in the various districts so as to enable each member to become familiar with each district and thereby form a considered and informed judgment as to the future site of the capital of the trust territory.

The U.S. delegation has also been glad to hear the views of the visiting mission and members of the Council with respect to the desirability of unifying the administration of the entire territory under the High Commissioner. As we have already stated to the Council, this matter has been receiving most careful attention at the highest level of our Government, and I can now further say that the departments concerned are agreed in principle that the administration of the territory should be unified. The detailed steps for bringing about this unified administration are now in process of being worked out.

As essential underpinnings of political development, emphasis in the past has been put upon the development of democratic institutions at the municipal and district levels. For a people who a few short years ago had little concept of a political identity beyond the village or clan, the development of representative self-government separate and apart from traditional allegiances has progressed satisfactorily and rapidly, given the geographic circumstances of the trust territory and its diversity of languages and cultures. We propose to continue and to intensify political education and training programs in the districts. It is, after all, on the local level that any people come into close and continuing contact with their government. It is on the local level that participation in governmental processes is a real and personal experience to the average individual.

As the distinguished representative from Belgium stated last Wednesday, "The rapidity with which a territory can be led to the stage where it would be in a position to govern itself is directly proportionate to the number of problems which are entrusted to the local leaders."

Reference has been made to the program of chartering municipalities, and the thought has been expressed that the goal of chartering at least 10 municipalities each year might be increased to 15 or 20. We would subscribe to the philosophy of this proposal, but in doing so we must point out that the chartering of a municipality is meaningful only when the people of the municipality understand the concepts embodied in the charter. We believe that the substance, not merely the form, of representative institutions is important.

The visiting mission suggested in its report that ways and means should be found to expand the effective functions of the district congresses. Through the subcommittee on political development, through strengthening our political affairs staff, and through the efforts of the district congresses themselves, we are confident that these legislative bodies will achieve increasing authority and responsibility. This matter will, of course, receive our full attention.

In connection with the development of the district congresses and governmental institutions in general, I should like to quote

a line from the visiting mission report. On page 20 the mission stated:

"Though strong attachment to tradition still exists in several parts of the territory, the elders are beginning to recognize that responsibility should be placed in the most capable hands irrespective of a person's position in traditional society."

We fully share the view of the visiting mission that this is an encouraging development, and we submit that this development is due in large measure to policies of patient and progressive training and education in the political field. As the distinguished representative from the United Kingdom stated yesterday, "The touchstone of political advance must be the wishes of the people themselves."

Our goal has been to turn over positions of authority to trained and qualified Micronesians in a continuing replacement program. Some 60 important positions have been taken over by Micronesians in the past 10 years, and with the intensification of our training program, both inservice and scholarship training outside the territory, this rate of replacement should continue.

A number of delegations expressed concern over the fact that senior administrative positions such as district administrators and assistant district administrators have not, as yet, been taken over by Micronesians. The distinguished representative of India during the course of the questioning commented that it was his opinion, based on his observation in the territory, that the administration already possessed a pool of competent young administrators and therefore our target goal of one or more assistant district administrators by 1964 appeared to him to be rather slow. Other members of the Council put forth somewhat similar views. I agree completely that we have a corps of young, able administrators undergoing training from which our potential senior administrators will come. Our problem now is one of seeking suitable candidates but one of providing the opportunity for seasoning and experience which a district administrator or assistant district administrator must possess if he is to do a good job for his district and his people. The Council may be assured that Micronesians will be placed in senior positions as rapidly as they gain the necessary experience and demonstrate their competence to handle these assignments.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL FIELDS

It was encouraging to note the expression of confidence voiced by the distinguished representative of Burma in the progress being made in the social and educational fields. There are many problems to be solved, but I am confident that, given the continued and wholehearted support and cooperation of the people of Micronesia, we shall continue to achieve steady advancement in these important areas. As I indicated in my opening statement, the social development subcommittee of the Interdistrict Advisory Committee currently is engaged in studying social and educational problems and will present a report of findings and recommendations at the forthcoming meeting of the territory-wide conference of the Interdistrict Advisory Committee this fall. This conference will pay particular attention to elementary education problems.

The rapidly expanding school population is posing difficult problems for the local communities and for district congresses which provide the funds for payment of elementary school salaries.

The recommendation made by the distinguished representative of New Zealand, and concurred in by the distinguished representative of China, that the administration should give additional direct financial aid to the elementary school districts, spe-

cifically in the support of teachers' salaries, is one to which we shall give every consideration.

I wish also to note that the administration already has under study the point brought forth by the distinguished representative of India on the lowering of the compulsory age of schooling from the present 8-year level. Over 1,000 children under the age of 8 years presently are enrolled in public and private schools. In any case I wish to assure the representative of India that this recommendation, which also was made by the visiting mission, will receive every consideration at the forthcoming interdistrict conference when problems of education are discussed.

It was gratifying and encouraging to hear the favorable comments of members of this Council on the general health program of the administration. I use the words "gratifying and encouraging" deliberately since this is a program which is completely handled by Micronesian district directors of public health and their staffs. The commendations of the various members, thus, will mean a great deal to these dedicated young Micronesian men and women who are working so valiantly in the field of public health in their communities.

I am particularly pleased to carry back to our public health staff the special interest in their work which was expressed by the distinguished representative of Australia.

I can assure the council that we shall make every effort to provide the technical assistance and aid that the Micronesian medical officers may request. We are in full agreement with the visiting mission that increased attention must be given to the improvement of health services to the outlying islands. This, indeed, is one of the major programs of the Department of Health and one which shall receive the highest priority.

ECONOMIC POTENTIALS OF THE AREA

Action to speed programs which will increase the productivity of the territory and provide higher living standards has received the greatest emphasis in the report of the visiting mission, in the questioning by members of the council, and in the very thoughtful and constructive statements made in the general debate. This emphasis on the economic field is by no means misplaced.

The relevant relationship of the economic field to that of the political was effectively highlighted in the careful and well-phrased concluding statement of the representative of the United Kingdom. I would only add that this relationship to political development is one that also pertains to each of the other major areas under review, the social and educational. It relates, also, to land tenure. A sound approach to land use is obviously of fundamental importance to the economic future of the territory.

While we have found the visiting mission report to be most helpful and generally constructive, we cannot concur with some of the rather sweeping and unqualified observations in paragraph 73 in the introductory chapter on economic advancement. The mission report states flatly, for example, that "... the Territory's main natural economic resources have not as yet been exploited." We agree that they have not yet been fully developed and that, with respect to the resources of the sea, for example, they have so far been little exploited in the commercial sense of that term. However, we believe that the basic agricultural resources have been developed to a very considerable extent and that sound programs for upgrading the agricultural productivity of the area have been initiated. As we have pointed out during the discussion, a good start has been made in commercial fishing.

Moreover, it seems to us that this particular paragraph in the report might be

interpreted to suggest that the territory enjoys great natural economic resources, above and beyond those already developed and in process of development. That this is not the case, at least to any considerable degree, is clearly indicated by other, more specific paragraphs of the report.

Great emphasis has properly been placed on the need for intensification of our efforts in the economic field. As I repeatedly indicated during the questioning period, we feel that the time now is at hand for an intensification of our effort. Our economic staff is being strengthened, and I hope to increase materially the resources which can be used for an economic development revolving fund.

The potentials of the area are not unknown. Surveys in almost every field have been undertaken in the past, and, as I elaborated in an answer to the distinguished representative from Australia, in the past several years we have had followup studies carried out in such areas of potential development as mineral resources, forestry, fisheries, trochus, cacao, coconut fiber products, and the like. I have stated that I conceive the first task of the strengthened economic section at headquarters essentially to be one of updating past surveys, as well as developing plans for broad and integrated economic development, rather than the conducting of a new basic economic survey. I would like to assure the distinguished representative of Burma that, when I remarked that some of the past economic surveys were out of date, I did not mean to imply that the basic resource data of these surveys were outmoded. I was referring primarily to the fact that marketing conditions may have changed and that the supply-and-demand factors should be reevaluated in terms of present-day conditions.

I assure the members of the council that the many detailed recommendations in the economic section of the visiting mission report will receive careful attention. We are, indeed, most appreciative of the various suggestions made by the visiting mission in the fields of agriculture, fisheries, poultry, handicrafts, as well as in matters pertaining to transport and communications. As was noted by the representative of the United Kingdom, we have already taken action on a number of recommendations made by the visiting mission in this field and very likely will act favorably on others after further study. Certain recommendations we may not agree with or find feasible at this stage of economic development. But, again, I would assure the representative of the United Kingdom that, even though from our viewpoint certain recommendations, to use his terminology, might seem somewhat fanciful, they will receive the same careful consideration that will be accorded to all others.

In summary, the U.S. delegation agrees with the report of the visiting mission and with various proposals by members of the trusteeship council that increased economic development of the territory is most important and is indeed basic for the advancement of the territory toward the objectives of the charter and the trusteeship agreement. The administering authority will give careful attention to these proposals and will see what further funds can be made available for stimulating the much-needed economic progress of the territory.

SITUATION OF RONGELAPESE PEOPLE

I would be remiss were I not to comment further upon the situation of the people of Rongelap, 82 of whom were exposed to radioactive fallout in 1954 as the result of a most regrettable mischance. There appears to be no question among the medical personnel who made an intensive study last March that the general physical health of the Rongelapese is satisfactory.

The team has advised me that the physical complaints of the Rongelap people who were actually exposed to radioactive fallout are no more numerous than those of the larger, unexposed population on the island. The medical team found no existing physical illnesses attributable to exposure to radioactive fallout.

With regard to the statement in the visiting mission report that the complaints of the Rongelap people are confirmed by the local health aide, I should like to point out, first, that the mission itself questioned the competence of the health aide and, second, that as one of the persons exposed to fallout, the health aide in question cannot be considered a disinterested observer. As we have previously stated, this health aide continues at his post at the specific request of the Rongelap people. We shall, nonetheless, continue regular physical examinations, making every effort to minimize their psychological impact on the Rongelap people.

The visiting mission and many members of the council have suggested that rehabilitation efforts be intensified, including the stationing of American personnel on Rongelap to live among the people and so to help allay their fears. I should like to point out that an American agriculturist had been stationed on Rongelap for almost 2 years to assist the Rongelapese in reestablishing agricultural enterprises.

In my opening statement I mentioned that the agricultural rehabilitation program has now been virtually completed and that the American agriculturist had turned the program over to his capable Rongelapese extension agent. The step of withdrawing the American agriculturist was partly taken in a further effort to encourage the community to stand on its own feet.

It should also be pointed out that the problems of rehabilitation are vastly complicated by the fact that many relatives of the people of Rongelap have moved to the island. There are now more than 200 people living in a community which in 1954 numbered 82. The stresses and strains resulting from this influx of population have added considerably to the psychological problems which must be overcome in the rehabilitation of Rongelap.

As to various other matters touched upon in the general debate, I believe that they are sufficiently covered in statements previously made by me or by Mr. Bingham.

In closing, Mr. President, may I state that, as in previous years, we shall make available to Micronesians throughout the territory the summary records of this meeting and the closing statements of all of the delegations. I might further add for clarification that these records will be distributed within the next few weeks, since it is our practice to have them reproduced in quantity by our own reports office. Thus, Micronesian leaders, staff members, students, and others will have the complete record for study before the end of July.

There is keen interest in the deliberations of this body throughout the territory, and, rather than wait for the official printed records, which do not reach us for many months, we have felt it well worth while to issue preliminary reports so that the people of the territory may have them as soon as possible after the closing of the debate on our territory.

We shall also be glad to prepare and distribute, as suggested by the visiting mission in paragraph 71 of its report, a document explaining the objectives of the trusteeship.

May I again thank you, Mr. President and all of the members of the Council, for your interest in the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Adviser Tosiwo Nakayama Reports to the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OR

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I submit the final of a series of statements presented to the United Nations Trusteeship Council on the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. This statement was delivered by Mr. Tosiwo Nakayama, president of the Trukese Congress and adviser to High Commissioner Goding on June 13, 1961.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY MR. NAKAYAMA, JUNE 13

I feel honored and grateful to the Government of the United States and to that of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which made it possible for me to have the opportunity to appear before the Trusteeship Council today and relay to the members of the council warm greetings from the people of the trust territory that I have the privilege and honor to represent. It is hard for me to believe that I have traveled across the vast Pacific Ocean to New York to sit here in the Trusteeship Council. I am pleased to have the opportunity to meet again with the distinguished members of the United Nations Visiting Mission, with whom I had the honor and pleasure to travel and to serve as their interpreter at several lengthy meetings held on Truk earlier this year.

The people of Truk—my home district—especially wish to convey to the Trusteeship Council and to the members of the last United Nations Visiting Mission to the territory their sincere wish for a successful meeting and for everlasting success in the maintenance of peace and growth of opportunity for the peoples of the world over.

I am certain the firsthand experience gained from my visit with the Trusteeship Council will no doubt be of great value and assistance to me in my responsibilities as the president of the Truk District Congress, as a member of the Truk district political development team, and as economic and political development adviser to the district administrator.

MUNICIPAL CHARTERING PROGRAM

As a member of the political development team, Mr. President, I am charged with the responsibility of planning and coordinating our municipal chartering program under the guidance of the Truk district administrator. During the course of my career since 1958 as a member of this team, I have had the pleasure of seeing seven municipalities in the Truk District celebrate the receipt of their charters. To me it was gratifying to view the effort and interest of people of these municipalities showed in preparing for their charters. And gratifying also is the fact that these people have since demonstrated satisfying ability in governing themselves in a democratic manner in accordance with procedures and laws they initiated. I am sure the same result is attained by people of the chartered municipalities throughout the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

As you are all aware, it is not easy to carry out political development work in communities where there are a great number of uneducated people and where there are strong

conservative social and political traditions. The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands has within itself many such communities. There is also, of course, the different added problem of communication and transportation, although I think even this can be solved more easily.

I believe that, in order to preserve the good customs and traditions of the people of the Trust Territory, political development programs must be directed and carried out in such a manner that, when something either supplements or replaces an aspect of the existing structure, it does so only if and when the people concerned deem it desirable and necessary. In no way should it be forced upon the people of the Trust Territory. I would rather see them guided rather than led by the Administering Authority, for I feel it is their job to decide for themselves their own destiny in accordance with the goals of the trusteeship system.

MICRONESIANS CONSCIOUS OF RESPONSIBILITIES

The program of replacing American personnel with qualified Micronesians as soon as feasible is one that needs close attention. American personnel should not be replaced by Micronesians simply for the sake of budgetary savings but only when the Micronesians are capable of taking over the responsibility.

Today the people of the trust territory feel much closer to their Government because they see their own brothers and sisters sitting in the chairs which not long ago belonged to their American predecessors. And instead of having to communicate through an interpreter, which was often embarrassing, in giving an account of one's trouble to the American physician, the Micronesians are pleased to feel at home discussing their problems with their Micronesian doctors. I can recall the time when the people of Truk used to refer to the administration as the "American office," a term which is no longer used. But because of the number of Micronesians in jobs formerly held by American personnel, the administration is today referred to as the "big office." This means to them that the office has bigger responsibilities but that it is theirs. In order to do a good job in the "big office," of course, the Micronesian realizes that he must educate himself.

The people of the trust territory, however, have been very fortunate to have the opportunity for free education at home and abroad under trust territory government sponsorship. As the result of this program many promising young men and women are emerging and have acquired for themselves leadership status in their communities. Having the respect and confidence of the conservative older people in their respective municipalities, it can be assumed that they are the ones that will determine the future of the trust territory. Realizing, of course, the importance of education, more and more district congresses are now setting up scholarship funds to provide for opportunities for their young citizens to study abroad.

I am pleased to report that the Micronesians are quite conscious of their responsibilities and that they are undertaking ever-increasing responsibility. This to me underlines the steady growth of the people of the trust territory toward self-government.

THE TRUK DISTRICT CONGRESS

The Truk District Congress, of which I am a member and currently president, came into being in 1957, when it was incorporated after long preparation and as a result of a decision of the chief magistrates' conference. It was on August 23, 1957, that the former Secretary of the Department of the Interior, Mr. Fred Seaton, presented to the Truk Congress its charter. This occasion

marked the birth of the first Trukese legislative organ which was to deliberate upon matters of significance to the welfare of the Trukese community.

The emergence of the Truk District Congress also created a new era in the life of the Trukese people in that it carries home to the grassroots of their communities the essence of democratic government, the ideas of equal representation and of freedom and equality under the law.

The congress charter, to which I have referred, requires that members of the congress be elected by secret ballot and by popular vote. This is the procedure that is used throughout the trust territory. As you all know, there are various sizes of population units, and to give equal representation in the congress poses a special problem. On what basis would representation be achieved so that it is fair to both municipalities with only 30 people and those with a population greater than 3,000? The congress charter provides that for every 500 people one representative must be elected from the municipalities with a large population and one representative from each of the municipalities whose populations are less than 500.

In order to function properly, each district legislative body imposes certain types of taxes, either upon general imports or otherwise, for the purpose of its budget. If I am not mistaken, the average budget of a legislative body in the trust territory is approximately \$40,000 a year. The Truk District Congress this year has a budget of nearly \$50,000, and \$36,000 of that is for the payment of elementary school teachers' salaries. This year \$3,000 has been appropriated for the United Nations Day program. This is \$1,000 more than the sum appropriated last year. Other districts finance the United Nations Day program in one way or other, and the people of the trust territory celebrate the anniversary of United Nations Day as one of the most significant occasions of the year.

The district congresses can be viewed as the training base for the trust territory people who may in the future form a territorywide legislative body, but I believe that the desire for a territorywide legislative body must come from the people of the trust territory rather than being forced upon them by the administering authority or the United Nations. I can assure you that the time will come when the people of the trust territory shall demand that they have such an organization.

EDUCATION AND INSERVICE TRAINING

Though we can say that we are better off in modern technology than our forefathers, there still are many problems confronting us. We must educate ourselves in order to bring ourselves closer to the rest of the rapidly changing world. But thanks to the administering authority and the United Nations, scholarships now are enabling competent young men and women of the trust territory to receive the kind of education that they would not otherwise have.

Despite their limited budgets, the district congresses in the trust territory also are setting up scholarships for qualified young men and women of their districts to study abroad, usually in specially designated fields such as agriculture, sanitation, general education, and the like. This summer, for instance, the Truk Congress is awarding a \$1,000 scholarship to 12 prospective students for special study at the College of Guam. These 12 young men already hold key positions with the trust territory government.

Among these special summer scholars are the director of sanitation for the entire trust territory, the Truk district representative of the public defender, the Truk district representative of the public prosecutor, and currently acting land title officer, the principal of Moen Elementary School, two

intermediate school teachers, the Truk district assistant land surveyor, the assistant land title officer, a personnel clerk, an assistant statistical analyst, and a senior employee from the U.S. Weather Bureau in Truk district.

Agreement was reached between the congress and the administration that, since this program is, in a way, an inservice training program of the scholars, the trust territory government will continue to pay the salaries of those in its employment during the 3 months they will be in school at Guam. Under the same arrangement Palau district is sending 12 senior teachers and key personnel from their education department, while Ponape district is sending 2.

Detailed plans for this program, including rules of conduct and housekeeping, are strictly their own. From their number they are to elect one overleader and an executive board which will deliberate upon matters of general interest to them all.

In my opinion this sort of program is extremely valuable from all points of view. It is a program that will bring together the potential leaders of the territory. And by virtue of their being together over a period of 3 months, they will certainly learn from each other to understand better how to meet the needs of all the people of the trust territory. Because of the various values derived from a program such as this, our Congress did not hesitate a bit in awarding the sum of \$1,000, which in our budget is a sizable amount.

These are but a few of the significant steps that the people of the trust territory are taking in striving forward for self-sufficiency. We believe that it is through educating ourselves in the modern ways that we will be able to determine for ourselves our future status and attain our destiny.

The trust territory grant-in-aid program is a commendable one, for without it the building of good elementary schools and community buildings by the people of the trust territory alone would have been impossible. I need not describe this program, for I believe you are already familiar with it from the reports of the administering authority. But I do wish to emphasize that we benefit greatly from this program and that we have great need for this form of assistance for many more years to come.

PROGRESS IN SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

There are a number of encouraging changes that have taken place in our social life. People who once were reluctant to accept modern medicine and sanitation now realize that they were unwise.

The administering authority has done a great job in training Micronesian medical officers and other personnel in other fields of work within the trust territory governmental setup. There is not a single hospital in the trust territory, except that of Saipan District, that is not staffed and operated by Micronesian directors. The Micronesian medical officers have proven capable, and they have an advantage over a foreign doctor in that they have a greater understanding of their Micronesian patients and their troubles. In the education field we see a gradual taking over by Micronesians of the jobs formerly held by Americans.

The grouping together in various schools of Micronesians, who to me are more different than alike in their ways and cultural beliefs, unites them and enables them to see their similarities and differences and develop in themselves a feeling of friendship and mutual ties. It is here that the future of the trust territory is being built by the hands of our men and women who will some day lead their people toward attaining the goals of the trusteeship system. Pacific Islands Central School, the University of Hawaii, and the College of Guam, for example are the places where Micronesians get to know each other well.

There are in the trust territory various special types of organizations. In my district, for example, there is a women's organization whose membership includes Trukese and American workingwomen. This organization's officers at the present time are all Micronesian women. This group meets every month to exchange ideas and learn from one another about their different ways of life. Although there are many obstacles that stand in the path of our social development, nevertheless encouraging progress is seen throughout the territory.

In closing, I wish to say that your continued assistance and guidance have been well directed and well received and that the people of the trust territory continue to benefit from them. To the administering authority we are most indebted for the constructive programs it has carried out during all the years of its responsibility.

Again I wish to thank you for this opportunity to appear before this body and to express the appreciation of the people of the territory for the interest this body has in our welfare.

Soviet Nuclear Tests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, Moscow talks peace and tests arms—the same old cynicism. When will we learn that communism is determined to win victory, not to work out a national settlement.

Under unanimous consent, I include an article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

SOVIET NUCLEAR TESTS LEAVE US FREE TO STEP UP CRASH PROGRAM

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

The Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear tests has been a terrible shock to many in all countries and probably to some extent helped the popularity of the United States among the nonaligned peoples.

It has also let a breath of the harsh reality into the tenderly nourished summerhouse of make-believe and delusions about the world situation in general and the intentions of the U.S.S.R. in particular.

For this reason I welcome the resumption. That act of defiance of the world opinion upon which some have been depending for world peace has called the attention of all sincere people back to the main fact of international existence: the Kremlin means to bury us and counts upon brute force to blackmail the non-Communist world into surrender. The new Soviet military effort is necessary to support successful Soviet aggression without major war—at Berlin and everywhere else.

Moscow's strategy now seems clear. First, by alerting scared neutrals and nuclear pacifists everywhere, it induced the Eisenhower administration to declare a unilateral moratorium—as recommended by Candidate Stevenson in 1956.

Then for almost 3 years it strung gullible Americans and English along at 339 futile meetings.

REDS BUILD UP DEFENSES

Meanwhile, in Russia, Soviet scientists and technicians moved heaven and earth to create a firmer basis for the next blackmail moves against the West. That basis was making Russian cities relatively invulnerable to American attack. The means chosen

were evacuation, plans for which have been going forward steadily, and the development of ground-to-air missiles. Such missiles may someday become antimissile missiles. But meanwhile they can be a pretty sure defense against that airplane counterblitz of Soviet cities upon which American deterrent plans have depended. For, once Soviet gunners can shoot down most of our counterforce, our ability to resist nuclear blackmail will shrink alarmingly.

Some American experts believe that the Soviets have now successfully tested four such ground-to-air missiles.

The conclusion is obvious: at the coming Communist congress in Moscow, Khrushchev may announce that he can now ward off any American attacks—and demand the immediate neutralization of West Berlin. He expects that this will panic our allies and that President Kennedy, under pressure from them and from domestic appeasers and nuclear pacifists, will have no course open but retreat.

FIRM STAND CAN AVOID WAR

If this diagnosis is correct, Mr. Kennedy has less than 2 months in which to prepare the Western world, physically and psychologically, to resist any such blackmail. In short, to avoid war he must seriously face the possibility of nuclear war. I believe that by a firm stand he cannot only save Berlin but avoid nuclear war both now and 1, 2, or 5 years from now.

Meanwhile—and I say fortunately—the United States is now free to step up a crash program of creating our own antimissile missiles, of building shelters and of shifting from dirty to clean bombs which we can use with a clearer conscience. If J.F.K. does these things, the Soviet Union's resumption of nuclear testing may be a blessing in disguise.

Now a postscript: a newsman close to the President reports that he still wonders "why he cannot get down to rational discussion" of an "honorable accommodation" on Berlin with the Soviet leader. How strange. For that wonder assumes that Mr. K. wants an "accommodation" on Berlin. Mr. Kennedy seems to believe that what Stalin would not do for F.D.R. (whose aid saved Russia during World War II) or for Truman, or what Khrushchev would not do for war hero Eisenhower—namely, make real peace—the Soviet leader should be ready to do for a former junior American Senator who managed to become President of the United States by a handful of votes.

How amazing. When will our young and courageous leader realize that the U.S.S.R. wants not peace but victory—total and worldwide—and will get it unless an awakened and embattled West decides to stop him?

Mr. Kennedy's Mule

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I will make it short and sweet. The following editorial from the September 8, 1961, issue of *Life* points up what I have always emphasized to my constituents—"you don't get something for nothing":

"TANSTAFL," IT'S THE TRUTH

Dwight D. Eisenhower, in his reflections on the Berlin crisis, expressed alarm at Ken-

nedy's big stepups in civilian spending along with the necessary bolstering of defense to meet new Soviet threats. In this area, *Life* has long contended that the billions we spend on needless farm surpluses is the ultimate absurdity, and as a case in point submits this week the story of Corsicana, Tex., and Groceries Day.

Groceries Day, which comes to Corsicana one Tuesday each month, began when President Kennedy, in the first command he issued, ordered an increase in the free food being distributed to the U.S. needy. Since free food was a means of getting rid of the surpluses piled up by giving subsidies to farmers, nobody objected. Besides, the plague of chronic unemployment made it seem highly desirable.

But the Government not only increased the amount of food, it also ordered a tastier variety. To the surplus staples of flour, corn meal, rice, lard, and butter, the Agriculture Department added fancier items like meat, beans, eggs, oatmeal, bought on the open market, and the monthly handouts soon included such delicacies as canned pork and gravy (called Mr. Kennedy's Mule in Corsicana).

This increased the program's cost. For the 1,401 U.S. counties now receiving free groceries, the \$110.2 million cost in 1961's first half is nearly quadruple Eisenhower's \$29.2 million in the same period last year. It also vastly increased the popularity of free groceries. Since January the number of people getting them has risen from 4.1 to 6.2 million, even as unemployment was sharply dropping. Because each State determines its own standards of eligibility, and these vary even from county to county, recipients have included a New York City man who carried his bags away in a taxicab, and some folks in Jefferson County, Tex., who took them away in an air-conditioned Cadillac. In Navarro County, where Corsicana is located, almost 1 out of every 10 people—3,367—began surging in for Groceries Day.

The Wall Street Journal reports some interesting results. For example, Grocer Henry Slat's food sales dropped off some 10 percent but his business has increased sharply in cigarettes, soft drinks, cake mixes, and candy.

But more interesting, and ironic, is the complaint of farmers that free groceries keep some able-bodied men from working on farms to produce more surplus crops to be handed out as free groceries. Said Farmer D. H. "Blackie" Allen, "I had 24 hands in the fields the day before the last handout. On Groceries Day the number dropped to three and for the next 3 days the most I could get at any one time was nine." L. G. Avery, a farm laborer, quite content with "Mr. Kennedy's Mule," was rocking away the day on the porch of his house. "This is one year," said Mr. Avery, "people ain't going to get the grass hoed out of their cotton, because we ain't going to do it."

If free food thus contributes to unemployment, there are nevertheless some offsetting benefits. Employment increased in New York City, where Welfare Commissioner Dumpson added 39 civil service employees to his department (at a cost of \$136,500 a year) to handle the stocks of food. Obviously, this job could not be done by people on relief, since they could scarcely carry their own groceries home while handing them out to others.

All of which, fellow taxpayers, who carry the load for farm surplus as for Groceries Day, bears out the sapience of that wise man of old who, when asked to compress all his wisdom into a single word, cried: "TANSTAFL," and when asked to explain it, said the mystic word stood for this:

"There ain't no such thing as free lunch." There ain't.

Goldwater Proves He Can Slug in Same League as Maris and Mantle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an editorial by Mr. Morrie Ryskind which appeared recently in the Los Angeles Times.

I believe that it gives a good analysis of how the average American is thinking on national problems.

GOLDWATER PROVES HE CAN SLUG IN SAME LEAGUE AS MARIS AND MANTLE

(By Morrie Ryskind)

The boy has definitely grown older. Here Roger Maris and Mickey Mantle, hot on the heels of the immortal Babe Ruth's home run record, were scheduled to appear against the Angels at Los Angeles' Wrigley Field. In the old days, wild horses and regiment of East Berlin guards couldn't have kept me away. Nor even a date with Gina Lollobrigida.

And there I was, riding instead 40 miles to the outskirts of town because I'd read in the papers that BARRY GOLDWATER was going to speak at the little college stadium under the auspices of some Young Republicans. How silly can you get?

But, if this was midsummer madness, our party of four wasn't alone, as we discovered while trying to park. Some 7,000 of the younger set had had the same idea. Oh, there were quite a few of us who had reached the years of Jack Benny—39—for BARRY appeals to older Republicans, too. But this audience was overwhelmingly in the 21-35 age group. I have heard the Senator both in New York and California, and these are definitely his people. And, frankly, as one who is used to attending GOP meetings composed almost entirely of sturdy but elderly citizens, I find this face-lifting process highly attractive.

I had dallied with the notion of pulling rank and exercising the privilege of the fourth estate by sitting in the press section, so that I'd get a chance to say hello to the Senator. But at the hotdog stand we got into conversation with some of these young conservatives, as folks do on these occasions without the formality of introductions, and decided we'd rub elbows with them to see what makes 'em tick.

Well, we certainly rubbed elbows with them because the El Camino stands, designed to accommodate 5,500 or so, had at least another 1,000 packed into the seats that night in a spirit of real togetherness. When we couldn't inch together any more, they let the rest sit on the grass.

I recalled hearing Mr. Truman at Gilmore Stadium, far easier to reach, during his 1948 campaign—and he carried the prestige of the Presidential toga with him—and this crowd was easily twice as large. My guess is that the man from Arizona can right now—and certainly in this age group—outdraw any native son in the latter's home State. And I don't mean only on the trigger.

These youngsters are Republicans all right, but they are Goldwater Republicans—which means they're Jeffersonian Democrats, too. They are not Republicans because their fathers were, not because it's a lifelong habit. They have weighed the New Deal baubles and the New Frontier trinkets—and have

found them wanting. They have read—almost without exception—the Senator's "Conscience of the Conservative," and this is the banner they have enlisted under. It seems to them, rightly or wrongly, to epitomize what the Founding Fathers meant America to be, and they are determined to keep it in the path.

There is no doubt their hearts belong to BARRY. They gave him an ovation when he entered, and another when he announced his daughter had just that day made him a grandfather again; they punctuated his speech with salvos of applause, and had enough left over for another ovation at its conclusion.

Not that he said anything startlingly new or revolutionary, for the only revolution he really cares about is the one we had in 1776. But he restated the eternal verities he finds in the horse-and-buggy principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with vigor and clarity and wit. And that's what they had come to hear.

For this is no mere bobby-sox affair, replete with the shrill whistles given Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley. If Barry has their hearts, it is because he has appealed to their minds, too. These are young people dedicated to a cause—the restoration of individual freedom from the shackles of the welfare state—and they see in BARRY the Moses who will lead them out of slavery into the promised land.

And if I were a bigwig in GOP politics, I think I'd have sense enough to see to it, in coming candidates and platforms, that this not inconsiderate group got considerable attention, beginning with the 1962 by-election. If I judge them correctly, they will not be content with a Republican Tweedledee running against a Democratic Tweedledum. If that's all they get, as sure as shooting—with or without BARRY—there'll be a third party where all these nice young voters and their nice young votes will wind up.

Don't say I didn't warn you.

Connecticut Bank's Timely Gambit in Public Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, it is my purpose in this extension of remarks to call the attention of the House, and of the people of this country, to the recognition which has been given in the banking field, to a patriotic enterprise of an institution which is widely known and respected in my district, the Middletown Savings Bank.

Other financial institutions have been quick to hop onto a good idea, but, so far as I know, the Middletown Savings Bank was the first to offer its assistance in the program which is currently the concern of households all over the country, particularly in the present world crisis when no one can tell whether or not we shall or shall not have a nuclear war.

The Middletown Savings Bank offered to homeowners who wished to build fallout shelters on their property, loans at an interest rate far below the prevailing

work for homebuilding or home improvements.

The offer not only attracted wide attention in the community, but also attracted the attention of the American Banker, the only daily banking newspaper, which, in a recent issue, devoted its leading editorial to the enterprise of the Middletown Bank.

Under unanimous consent I include the editorial at this point:

THREE-PERCENT LOANS TO BUILD FALLOUT SHELTERS—CONNECTICUT BANK'S PROGRAM BRINGS FAVORABLE RESPONSE

An interesting and timely gambit in civic service and bank public relations has been initiated by the Middletown (Conn.) Savings Bank, in its offer to finance the building of home fallout shelters at the lowest possible interest cost. A preferential rate of 3 percent will be given to citizens whose mortgages are held by the bank and who will build shelters for their families according to approved plans. Middletown Savings is first in the State to offer this special service.

Howard W. Smith, president of Middletown Savings for the past 15 years, and previously director of the then Department of Real Estate Finance of the American Bankers Association, has been impressed by the menacing turn in the cold war on the one hand, and by reports of widespread building of atomic radiation shelters in Russia, along with that country's training of both children and adults in survival requirements.

Middletown, he feels, would not be a prime bomb target. Located midway between New York and Boston, and some 15 miles south of Hartford, its problem is more likely to be fallout of radioactive dust rather than blast.

MINIMUM COST

Survival outside of an immediate atomic blast area, the bank points out, depends on avoidance for a period of days of radioactive dust which may blow into an area from a bombed area. A shelter equipped with air filter, water, food, radioactivity dosimeter, sanitary facilities (including a broom), battery radio, and eating and sleeping accommodations, can be built for sums ranging as low as \$300. The broom, Civil Defense officials point out, is necessary to sweep out any fallout dust that may seep in around the shelter door.

For \$250-\$300, depending on how much work the householder does himself, a minimum approved shelter can be built, Mr. Smith tells local residents, to accommodate a family of five, utilizing basement space up to 10 by 9 feet. The two concrete basement walls serve as two sides for the little room. The two other walls are to be built of concrete, and a roof of concrete is to be poured just under the basement ceiling. Finally, a door as tight fitting and heavy as possible must be provided. Then, says Mr. Smith, the family should spend some days learning how to live together in such tight quarters.

The venture into fallout shelter promotion, he reports, "has been one of the most satisfying things I ever did. We must and should take seriously the problem of survival and our announcement has brought all kinds of favorable opinion, indicating that householders generally are grateful that we have taken leadership in this respect." He reports applications began coming in immediately after the first publicity, and this week the bank processed its first shelter loan, \$238, for building materials for a do-it-yourself structure with four walls of solid concrete. The borrower is a telephone company man with a family of five. His payments will be \$11 monthly for 2 years.

The bank, meanwhile, is making available at its offices copies of "The Family Fallout Shelter," a booklet supplied by the Civil Defense Administration, outlining the shel-

ter-building problem. In addition, the bank has erected a full-size model of a home-type shelter in its lobby and initiated plans for creating its own shelter in the bank's basement.

GOOD PUBLIC RELATIONS

Announcing the special 3-percent fallout shelter loan rate, Mr. Smith told the press that this is only half the rate now being charged on home improvement loans. Over a 3- to 5-year repayment program, on monthly installments, the 3-percent rate means a reduction of about 10 percent in monthly payments, he said.

Much local publicity and favorable editorial comment has attended the bank's announcement. A new service, such as this, tied into the news of the day, and considering growing emphasis in Washington on civil defense activity, makes the best sort of grist for good publicity since it casts an institution in the best of light as a civic-minded corporate citizen.

But Mr. Smith disclaims publicity as the motive of the directors of the bank and himself in making fallout shelter promotion a prime program for the bank and the Middletown community. The real necessity of preparing as best we can for the worst, so that chances of survival will be the best possible, prompted their decision. This is as it should be.

Good public relations has been defined as "doing good and getting credit for it." Essentially the Middletown Savings Bank's idea has been to provide leadership in what has been called officially a vitally good movement. Like bread cast upon waters, benefits are bound to come back to the bank in ways both measurable and unmeasurable.

Status of the Regular Appropriation Bills and Legislative Back-Door Appropriation Provisions, 87th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, for the information of the House and the country, I include up-to-date tabulations on the status of the regular appropriation bills and identified legislative bills carrying back-door provisions of one kind or another.

With presentation of the two conference reports today and the public works bill scheduled in the House tomorrow, we are near the conclusion of the regular appropriations schedule of the session. The usual last supplemental bill of the session will be reported tomorrow and disposed of this week. As disclosed by the tabulation, the District and foreign assistance bills are in the Senate. The State, Justice, judiciary bill is in conference and will be forthcoming.

The appropriations business has been delayed inordinately this session by the unexplained lateness of the growing practice of processing authorization bills annually. The Committee on Appropriations has been marking time for several weeks on certain bills waiting for the authorizations to clear.

The tables follow:

Table of appropriation bills, 87th Cong., 1st sess., as of Sept. 11, 1961

[Does not include any back-door appropriation bills]

Title	Budget estimates to House	Amount as passed House	House action compared with budget estimates	Budget estimates to Senate	Amount as passed Senate	Senate action compared with—		Final conference action	Increase or decrease compared to budget estimates to date
						Budget estimates	House action		
1961 SUPPLEMENTS									
3d supplemental	\$1,235,482,769	\$803,506,119	-\$431,976,650	\$5,275,213,127	\$4,637,419,970	-\$637,793,157	+\$3,833,913,851	\$1,694,055,637	-\$3,581,157,490
Inter-American program	600,000,000	600,000,000		600,000,000	600,000,000			600,000,000	
4th supplemental	88,024,000	47,214,000	-40,810,000	88,024,000	47,214,000	-40,810,000		47,214,000	-40,810,000
Total, 1961 supplements	1,923,506,769	1,450,720,119	-472,786,650	5,963,237,127	5,284,633,970	-678,603,157	+\$3,833,913,851	2,341,269,637	-3,621,967,490
1962 APPROPRIATIONS									
Treasury-Post Office	5,371,801,000	5,281,865,000	-89,936,000	5,371,801,000	5,327,631,000	-44,170,000	+\$45,766,000	5,298,765,000	-73,036,000
Interior ²	782,387,000	753,319,000	-29,068,000	782,387,000	813,399,850	+31,012,850	+\$60,080,850	779,158,650	-3,228,350
Labor-H.E.W.	4,282,148,081	4,327,457,000	+45,308,919	5,004,281,081	5,161,380,000	+157,098,919	+\$833,923,000	4,915,965,000	-88,316,081
Legislative	108,647,577	104,353,335	-1,294,242	136,082,802	135,432,065	-650,737	+31,078,730	135,432,065	-650,737
State, Justice, Judiciary	795,891,202	751,300,050	-44,591,152	795,891,202	762,038,550	-33,852,652	+10,738,500		
Agriculture	6,089,244,000	5,948,466,000	-140,778,000	6,089,244,000	5,967,457,500	-121,786,500	+18,991,500	5,967,494,500	-121,749,500
Loan authorizations	(612,000,000)	(620,900,000)	(+17,900,000)	(612,000,000)	(725,500,000)	(+113,500,000)	(+95,600,000)	(725,500,000)	(+113,500,000)
Independent offices	8,625,561,000	8,404,088,000	-221,463,000	9,174,561,000	9,098,769,500	-75,791,500	+694,671,500	8,966,285,000	-208,276,000
General Government—Commerce	666,278,000	626,958,000	-39,320,000	666,278,000	650,438,200	-15,839,800	+\$23,480,200	641,135,800	-25,142,200
Defense	42,942,345,000	42,711,105,000	-231,240,000	46,396,945,000	46,848,292,000	+451,347,000	+4,137,187,000	46,662,556,000	+265,611,000
District of Columbia	(292,438,188)	(268,122,400)	(-24,315,788)						
Loan authorization	(24,600,000)	(29,000,000)	(+4,400,000)						
Federal payment	39,753,000	32,753,000	-7,000,000						
Military construction	1,047,568,000	883,359,000	-164,209,000	1,047,568,000	1,020,146,750	-27,421,250	+136,787,750	947,878,750	-99,689,250
Foreign assistance	4,993,991,000	3,835,245,000	-1,158,746,000						
Public works	3,732,038,000								
Supplemental									
Total, 1962 appropriations	79,474,652,860	73,660,278,385	-2,082,336,475	75,465,030,085	75,784,985,415	+319,946,330	+5,992,705,030	74,314,670,765	-354,477,118
Total, all appropriations	81,398,159,629	75,110,998,504	2,554,123,125	81,428,276,212	81,069,619,385	-358,656,827	+9,826,618,881	76,655,940,402	-3,976,444,608
Total, loan authorizations	(636,600,000)	(658,900,000)	(+22,300,000)	(612,000,000)	(725,500,000)	(+113,500,000)	(+95,600,000)	(725,500,000)	(+113,500,000)

¹ Major reductions include 2 items submitted directly to Senate (S. Doc. 19): (1) \$2,969,525,000 to restore funds of Commodity Credit Corporation. Entire estimate disallowed in conference; \$1,951,915,000 resubmitted for 1962 in budget estimates for Agriculture (H. Doc. 155); (2) \$490,000,000 for "Payment to the Federal extended compensation account." Reduction made by Senate. Resubmitted to Senate for 1962 in Labor-H.E.W. bill (S. Doc. 30).

² Includes borrowing authority as follows: Budget estimate, \$15,000,000; House reported and passed, \$10,000,000; Senate reported and passed, \$10,000,000.

³ Pending final disposition in House, with \$3,812,000 not settled (and not included in this figure).

NOTE.—Indefinite appropriations are included in this table.

New authority to obligate the Government carried in identified legislative bills—1st sess., 87th Cong. (public debt borrowing, contract authority, use of receipts, and authority to use existing authority)

[Please note that for some bills no amounts are shown; thus the grand totals understate the situation]

Bill and subject	Executive requests		Senate	House	Enacted	Enacted compared with executive requests—	
	Full basis	Basis comparable to enacted				Full basis	Comparable basis
1. Veteran's direct loans, multiyear (H.R. 5723; Public Law 87-84) (public debt)	(1)	(1)	\$1,050,000,000	\$1,050,000,000	\$1,050,000,000	+\$1,050,000,000	+\$1,050,000,000
2. Area redevelopment, multiyear (S. 1; Public Law 87-27) (public debt)	(\$300,000,000)	(\$300,000,000)	300,000,000	(300,000,000)	300,000,000	+300,000,000	+360,000,000
3. Agricultural commodities, sales for foreign currencies, for calendar year 1961 (S. 1027; Public Law 87-28) (contract authority involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)	2,000,000,000	2,000,000,000	2,000,000,000	2,000,000,000	2,000,000,000		
4. Special milk program for fiscal year 1962 (S. 146; Public Law 87-67) (contract authority involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)	105,000,000	105,000,000	105,000,000	105,000,000	105,000,000		
5. Special feed grain program for 1961 (H.R. 4510; Public Law 87-5) (contract authority involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)							
6. Housing Act of 1961, multiyear (S. 1922; Public Law 87-70) (Public debt and contract authority):							
(a) F.N.M.A. special assistance (public debt)	750,000,000	750,000,000	750,000,000	750,000,000	750,000,000		
(b) College housing loans (public debt)	1,350,000,000	1,000,000,000	1,350,000,000	1,200,000,000	1,200,000,000	-150,000,000	+200,000,000
(c) Public facility loans (public debt):	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000	50,000,000		
(1) Mass transportation loans (public debt)							
(d) Urban renewal grants (contract authority)	2,500,000,000	2,500,000,000	2,500,000,000	2,000,000,000	50,000,000	+50,000,000	+50,000,000
(e) Public housing (contract authority):							
(1) Annual contributions	3,146,000,000	3,146,000,000	3,146,000,000	3,146,000,000	5,000,000	+5,000,000	+5,000,000
(2) Demonstration grants	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000			
(f) Open space land grants (contract authority)	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000	100,000,000			
(g) Mass transportation demonstration grants (contract authority)	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000	10,000,000			
(h) Farm housing loans (public debt)	207,000,000	207,000,000	207,000,000	207,000,000			
Total, housing bill:	8,003,000,000	7,553,000,000	8,103,000,000	8,803,000,000	8,858,000,000	+855,000,000	+1,205,000,000
Loans	(2,357,000,000)	(2,007,000,000)	(2,457,000,000)	(3,657,000,000)	(3,657,000,000)	(+1,300,000,000)	(+1,650,000,000)
Grants	(5,646,000,000)	(5,546,000,000)	(5,146,000,000)	(5,201,000,000)	(5,201,000,000)	(-445,000,000)	(-445,000,000)
7. Cape Code National Seashore Park (S. 857; H.R. 5786; Public Law 87-126) (Contract authority)	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000	16,000,000		
8. Federal aid to airports, 5 years (H.R. 6580; S. 1703; H.R. 8102) (contract authority)	375,000,000	375,000,000	375,000,000	375,000,000	375,000,000		

See footnotes at end of table.

New authority to obligate the Government carried in identified legislative bills—1st sess., 87th Cong. (public debt borrowing, contract authority, use of receipts, and authority to use existing authority)—Continued

[Please note that for some bills no amounts are shown; thus the grand totals underestimate the situation]

Bill and subject	Executive requests		Senate	House	Enacted	Enacted compared with executive requests	
	Full basis	Basis comparable to enacted				Full basis	Comparable basis
9. Mutual security loans, 5 years (H.R. 8400; S. 1983; Public Law 87-195) (public debt borrowing, use of certain repayments, and contract authority):							
(a) Public debt borrowing for development loans	\$7,300,000,000	\$7,300,000,000	\$7,987,000,000	(17)	18(\$7,200,000,000)	-\$7,300,000,000	-\$7,300,000,000
(b) Use of receipts from old loans for development loans	1,487,000,000	1,487,000,000				-1,487,000,000	-1,487,000,000
(c) Drawdown on Defense stocks and services for military assistance purposes (Defense can incur obligations in anticipation of reimbursement) (see, 510)	400,000,000	400,000,000	200,000,000	\$400,000,000	300,000,000	-100,000,000	-100,000,000
(d) Use for foreign currencies (House, sec. 611; Senate, sec. 612)	(20)	(20)	(20)	(20)	(20)		
Total, mutual security	9,187,000,000	9,187,000,000	8,187,000,000	400,000,000	300,000,000	-8,887,000,000	-8,887,000,000
10. Highway Act of 1961 (H.R. 6713; Public Law 87-61) (diversion of general fund revenues to "trust" fund; contract authority):							
(a) Diversion of 1/4 of 10 percent tax on trucks, buses, and trailers ²¹							
11. Agricultural Act of 1961 (H.R. 6400; H.R. 8230; S. 1983; Public Law 87-128):							
(a) 1962 wheat program (use of CCC funds involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)			(*)	(*)	(*)		
(b) 1962 feed grain program (contract authority and use of CCC funds involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)			(*)	(*)	(*)		
(c) Agricultural commodities, sales for foreign currencies (contract authority involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)	22 7,500,000,000	22 4,500,000,000	22 4,500,000,000	22 4,500,000,000	22 4,500,000,000	-3,000,000,000	
(d) Famine relief (contract authority involving subsequent reimbursement of CCC)	22 1,500,000,000	22 900,000,000	22 900,000,000	22 900,000,000	22 900,000,000	-600,000,000	
Total, Agricultural Act	9,000,000,000	5,400,000,000	5,400,000,000	5,400,000,000	5,400,000,000	-3,600,000,000	
Grand total (as to amounts listed)	28,670,000,000	24,720,000,000	27,196,000,000	19,561,000,000			

¹ Department endorsed need for some legislation, but no specific request was submitted by the administration. Bill extends over 6 years.

² Recommended usual-type authorization of appropriation to 3 revolving funds plus use of receipts derived from operations. House concurred.

³ For 3 revolving funds plus use of receipts derived from operations.

⁴ For calendar year 1961 only (to a total of \$3,500,000,000).

⁵ Originally submitted as part of the general farm bill, to be financed in this manner for fiscal 1962 and thereafter through the more usual annual advance appropriation.

⁶ Amounts not precisely determinable.

⁷ Basis for this figure is set out on pp. 54-55, H. Rept. 447.

⁸ For 4-year period; full executive request and Senate bill were for 5-year period.

⁹ For 4-year period.

¹⁰ Represents estimated maximum cost of annual contributions for 100,000 units of public housing to be paid out over period 40 to 45 years. See pp. 55-56, H. Rept. 447.

¹¹ Regular authorization for appropriation in Executive request and Senate bill. House bill made no provision. Bill changed at conference stage to contract authority.

¹² Regular authorization for appropriation. Senate bill made no provision. Bill changed at conference stage to contract authority.

¹³ Part of, and included in, item 6(d), urban renewal grant authority.

¹⁴ Executive request and Senate bill proposed a 5-year extension of availability of the uncommitted balance of previous authority otherwise due to expire on June 30, 1961. (Amount variously estimated at \$207,000,000 to \$235,000,000; actually turned out to be \$227,612,000.) House bill and final version extend such balance and add \$200,000,000 additional—limited, however, to a 4-year period. See pp. 57-58, H. Rept. 447.

¹⁵ Excludes \$1,200,000 carried in Senate bill for veterans direct loans inasmuch as the program is also accounted for in the first bill listed in tabulation.

¹⁶ Regular authorization for appropriation.

¹⁷ Usual form of appropriation authorization—\$1,200,000,000 for fiscal 1962 only.

¹⁸ Authorizes this amount to be appropriated over 5 years, 1962-66, but confers authority on the President to make agreements "committing" such appropriation authorizations, "subject only to the annual appropriation of such funds."

¹⁹ Officially estimated at \$287,000,000 for 1962 and \$300,000,000 for each succeeding year.

²⁰ Precise amounts not identified.

²¹ While technically this is not "New authority to obligate the Government," it has the same effect insofar as general budget totals and results are concerned in that it is, in final effect, the same as an expenditure from the general fund. Amounts shown taken from p. 12, S. Rept. 367. "New authority to obligate the Government" carried in the law, and requested, is \$11,500,000,000 for the Interstate program over the period through 1972; but it is against the highway "trust" fund, not the general fund. Not shown here are the executive proposals (1) to increase new obligating authority for the A-B-C program; (2) to shift financing of forest and public land highways from the general fund to the "trust" fund; and (3) to divert aviation gas tax revenues from the "trust" fund to the general fund. They are not shown because action was postponed to a later time.

²² Enacted and Senate bills for 3 calendar years 1962-64. Full executive request was 5 years 1962-66. House was for 3 years 1962-64 with no limit, but in order to avoid gross distortion of totals and comparisons, \$4,500,000,000 is arbitrarily inserted.

²³ Full executive request was for 5 calendar years 1962-66. Senate, House, and enacted are for 3 calendar years 1962-64.

There Is More Business, Commercial, Industrial, and Development Activity Per Capita in Houlton Than Any Other Town in Maine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF
HON. CLIFFORD G. McINTIRE
OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. McINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, a will to work, a will to win—that is the story of Houlton, Maine, a community which through self-determination and resourcefulness has created an economic climate in which businesses and commercial enterprises thrive and grow.

It is interesting to note that while the Federal Government is exerting every effort to provide economic stimulation in various areas of our country, the Houlton community has gone ahead and shown us just how it can be done on a basis of community initiative.

Here, then, is indeed a remarkable economic achievement, something that stands as a credit to this community and a challenge to other municipalities. I proudly insert into the RECORD an article from the August 31 issue of the Houlton Pioneer Times, for I sincerely believe that the details of this community's attainments are worthy of the scrutiny of my colleagues:

(By Aubrey A. McLaughlin, industrial director, Houlton Regional Development Corp.)

In analyzing at this time the economic activity in Houlton, a statement made a short

time ago by a prominent State official upon the conclusion of a 3-day tour of Houlton and northern Maine is still applicable:

"I would estimate that there is more business, commercial, industrial, and development activity per capita going on at this time in the town of Houlton than in any other community of comparable size in the State of Maine."

At a time when unemployment rolls throughout the Nation have generally been increasing, those at Houlton have been decreasing; at a time when the employment level in general has been remaining constant or decreasing, in Houlton the employment has been and is now at an alltime high; at a time when the amount of new construction throughout the Nation has generally been down, new construction in Houlton has been at an alltime peak.

All business barometers normally used today indicate that Houlton over the past 3 or 4 years has established a mark which has caused even some of our bigger brothers to stop and take another look.

In analyzing this economic activity, it is most misleading to summarize only that of the past year. Many things that have become a reality during the past year actually had their origin years before. As example: the establishment in Houlton during 1961 of one of the county's most modern, newest and largest potato starch processing plants at a total cost of approximately \$2 million was over 3 years in the research, planning, and building stage—a period during which every citizen in Houlton not only was affected but also was involved one way or another.

AN INTEGRAL PART

The citizens of Houlton now look upon this plant and the tenant company with humble pride and regard it as an integral part of a community that has proven its desire to share with others—its greatest inherited quality.

Or take the case of the Houlton International Corp., a wood products manufacturing concern. During 1961 that company also established its roots in Houlton but again only after nearly 2 years of study, research, negotiations, hard work and sweat—a period during which again the citizens of Houlton, municipal government, its utilities, banks, transportation companies, local business and others joined hands to make this a reality.

This same procedure and activity has been repeated many times in Houlton. The Allied Houlton Footwear Corp., one of Maine's newest and most northerly shoe manufacturing plants, which, not only is presently working at capacity with approximately 225 employed, but also is working out plans and negotiation for expansion—and Houlton's Reliable Cedar Products Co. which within the past year has become one of Houlton's major industries as well as one of Maine's fastest growing cedar products companies.

Ward Cabin Co., a nationally known manufacturer of custom-built log homes, is another that typifies that which Houlton and its citizens are so proud and which has made it possible for the statement that Houlton leads the State in activity.

This remarkable industrial and economic growth is primarily the result of a general philosophy of Houlton, its citizens, its business, and its industries—a philosophy which is the very foundation for community economic growth.

It is recognized by Houlton people that there is nothing as constant as change and that we must, at all times, prepare for and direct those changes.

Yes, change we must and change we do. Change is constant. The population growth of our great country; the geographic shift of the population; the changes in eating habits and living habits; new developments in transportation and communication; the great technological advances; changes in the form of military preparedness program are but a few of the things that do affect and cause continual shifts in the economy of an area.

These influences are most certainly not of recent origin; they have been around since the very beginning of time. However, the idea of working with these changes is of rather recent origin.

Houlton citizens fully realize and accept the fact that do not meet the challenges deriving from these changes will only result in a slow but most definite deterioration. The community has, therefore, been the leader in developing a program to be used in meeting these shifts and these changes. A program developed and designed to constantly analyze and determine the problems, the needs and also to include and carry out procedure for counter action. This is one reason why Houlton has been and is, so progressive in its relations with industry.

CANCEROUS

As has been stated so many times before, usually most economic ills are not, even in the broadest sense, of recent origin. Many of the unfavorable conditions that exist in any community today actually started years and years ago and have been somewhat like a cancer—ever increasing in severity, becoming further and further entrenched, affecting more and more of the very heart and soul of the community, its people and its businesses.

Houlton's industrial and economic development program is not, therefore, born from a crisis or from an "everybody's doing it" attitude but rather is the product of progressive planning—planning which has resulted in a community that knows its assets and its liabilities; a community that still knows how to live, work and play such as people all over the world dream about; a community that not only is proud of its progress but is willing and desirous of sharing it with others.

Another part of Houlton's overall philosophy is, "you cannot be what you are not." This honesty and sincerity is simply indicative of the inherited quality of the area and its people.

It is interesting to note all the communities, areas, cities, etc., that are the center of, the capital of, the king of, the home of, the origin of, the home of the greatest, the area of the lowest, etc.

Houlton also can boast of many such things but above that the citizens are much more desirous of sharing with others the many, many inherent assets, and characteristics of the community—share them in such a way that there could be no other choice and no regrets. Whether this be our outstanding transportation system, our favorable taxes, our nearly unmatched insurance and utility rates, or our sportsman paradise, such as our lakes, streams, and woods, or even our abundant, progressive, and industrious labor, our unmatched forests, our industrial capabilities, or our unmatched way of life, Houlton wants to share it.

"We cannot be what we are not but we can be what we are—that is what Houlton believes in."

BENEFICIAL TO BOTH

"You must give in order to receive." It is Houlton's firm belief that when an industrial operation considers locating in an area that the deal must be beneficial to both the community and the industrialist.

This has been demonstrated by the fact that within 4 years' time the Houlton Regional Development Corp. has become one of the largest real estate owners in the community and that over 400 citizens and businesses as well as the municipal government have become participants in industrial programs and have collectively expended over \$300,000 in cash and assumed additional financial obligations of nearly \$1 million as well as making available buildings and sites valued at approximately \$1 1/4 million.

This is why Houlton as a community is forever searching for the problems as well as the answers. We want to provide the kind of community and the business atmosphere that the industrialist as well as the native want. This is being done.

FORGING AHEAD

In summary, it can be said with pride that without question Houlton is one of the most active communities for its size in the State of Maine, in business, commercial, industrial and development activity. While the national economy became soft, Houlton forged ahead as leader of the area.

This is primarily as the result of practices governed by the philosophy that "if change is inevitable we are prepared to

change"; "that we can only be what we are and do not attempt to be what we are not"; and that "in every deal there must be mutual benefits—to the operating company as well as the community."

Without question this area is embarking upon a whole new concept of capitalizing upon our vast agricultural capabilities. Tremendous opportunities lie ahead. Our vast forestry empire also is awakening in such a manner that more and more of the 1,300 to 1,500 wood products manufacturing jobs which are now exported in the form of logs will be brought back home. Our area has all the characteristics needed to emerge as the playground of the Northeast.

Our opportunities are unlimited and our future is bright as we, of northern Maine, embark upon a road paved with aggressiveness, imagination, awareness, ambition and cooperation. Houlton, the economic leader of northern Maine, has its road well paved and will continue to forge ahead at full speed.

We Should Be Ashamed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the Long-Islander of August 24. I think the analysis of our treatment of an old and honest friend is entirely correct, and I am glad that they noted the fine letter of former Ambassador Esteves that I placed in the RECORD.

Friends are not easy to come by and those that we have should be treated with honor and respect.

[From the Huntington (N.Y.) Long-Islander, Aug. 24, 1961]

WE SHOULD BE ASHAMED

Besides using up cash we haven't got in persisting in the role of Lady Bountiful to the world—our obsession to be loved by all, or practically all—is earning us the profound lack of respect usually accorded such conduct.

With our foreign policy based for the most part on the theory of reaction to the moves of the opposition camp—and Under Secretary of State Chester Bowles admitted on a recent "Meet the Press" TV program that we shall continue playing it by ear—it is no wonder Americans are confused and our allies dumbfounded.

On a par with our fumbling in Cuba and Laos our bumbling from Montevideo to Taiwan and our reckless sparring in the sundry Geneva talkathons is the matter of turning against one of our most faithful allies, Portugal, and joining the free world's arch enemy, the Soviet Union, in the matter of Angola. Not once, but twice, U.S. representatives voted in the United Nations for Communist-inspired resolutions urging internal reform in this old-established and once serene Portuguese-African colony.

The resolutions unleashed the violence and disorder desired by the Reds. A letter from the Portuguese Ambassador to the United States commenting on this reign of terror was entered in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by New York's Representative KATHARINE ST. GEORGE. The leader of the organized bands killing, plundering, and raping Angola settlers, says the letter, is an admitted Communist who is quoted as saying at

a press conference in Leopoldville: "We will kill their women and children." Nearly 2,000 defenseless victims, the Ambassador reported, were slaughtered—the majority being women and children.

Great Britain and France abstained on both resolutions—without apparent umbrage from the Afro-Asians. But the United States voted, in effect, first to impose "independence" on Angola, despite the object lesson of the Belgian Congo; and again, after the initial murderous attacks on the settlers, to "convict" Portugal of repressive measures in Angola. Obviously, the United States was voting in fear—in fear that the "new nations" of Africa might think the Russians were nicer to them than we. At the very same time we were slapping our NATO allies with both hands, we were loudly urging stronger military and political unity in this beleaguered stronghold of freedom.

Justice demands that Portugal receive better treatment. Survival of the West requires that the United States reject expediency and double-dealing as substitutes for a national policy, forget the silly and ruinous idea that we can buy the affection of nations and reflect that a code of honor has always been our strongest shield.

Perhaps the impending crisis of divided Germany will sober our diplomats.

Shame and Anger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a letter to the editor written by Mrs. V. R. Thomson, one of my constituents. This letter appeared in the Santa Ana Register, Santa Ana, Calif., on August 19. I have had numerous letters from my constituents indicating that this letter expressed their views completely. I know that it expresses mine.

SHAME AND ANGER

EDITOR, REGISTER: I love my country, but today I feel nothing but shame and anger. There is no pride in my heart as I say "I am an American citizen of the United States." There is heartbreak and anguish as I watch this great civilization of free men, women, and children sink steadily lower into the quagmire of oblivion. Too many elected and appointed officials of our Government, whom we must of necessity trust, have betrayed the people of this Nation; some unwittingly, some through lack of courage and personal integrity, some by deliberate design. They seem bent on handing us over "gift wrapped" to the enemy. By "they" I refer to our President, our Supreme Court, Congress, the United Nations, the Council on Foreign Relations, the foreign aid program and many more too numerous to mention. They protest loudly: "If you think this wonderful gift is for you, you are crazy. We will protect our freedom. We will not let you take it from us." All the while their fingers are busy tying the bow on the "gift wrap" in such a manner that the Communists will have no trouble struggling to open their "package." Just one quick tug at the loose end of the ribbon and, "open sesame," the great prize, the United States of America will

be in their hands and along with it all the other "free" nations in the Western World.

I am an American housewife, I belong to no groups. I am not an expert on anything. But it does not take an expert to see what is happening. Even I can see "the whites of their eyes." (It is almost possible to count their eyelashes.) It is past time for the action to start. To wait another moment will be disaster. I feel that our country is in its most severe national emergency in history. It's as it was 20 years ago, a few minutes before the attack on Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. We were completely unprepared then. We were badly defeated. We were almost wiped out. But, we rallied, and our great strength eventually won the war. But only because our Nation became united, and because American husbands, fathers, sons, brothers and sweethearts were being killed, and American property was being destroyed. The American people rose up as one huge enraged tiger and lunged ahead toward one specific goal: Win the war, save our freedom, sacrifice anything, keep our Flag flying at whatever the cost. And of course we won. At a great price. Why didn't we learn our lesson for all time?

What has gone wrong in the last 20 years? Are we a Nation of stupid, blind idiots? We are letting the same thing happen all over again. Only this time the enemy isn't sneaky. He boasts and pounds the table for emphasis, "We will bury you." Our people shrug and say, "Ha." He has not wavered. He warns and threatens us daily. He insults us. He shoots down our planes. He murders our citizens. He builds missile bases and submarine bases 90 miles off our coast. He plucks a commercial airliner out of our American skies and takes it, along with the American citizens who happened to be aboard, to his satellite outpost nestled snugly just off our shore. And he won't give it back. We say "Give it back or * * *," but we don't say or what. So he still has it, and we say, "The nerve." Our people stand in the streets and gaze awestruck at an enemy spaceship zooming across American skies and say, "So what." So, it will be too late to change from defensive to offensive this time. We won't have a couple of years to catch up. We'll have less than a couple of minutes. It will be over before we know what happened. Because we are not prepared. The tiger lies tranquilized and rolls over on his back and bats his paws like a kitten, leaving his soft underbelly exposed, and the heavy spiked boot of the Soviet is poised, ready to smash down with death-dealing force on that soft underbelly.

Americans, we've got to get that tiger on its feet, purge the tranquilizing drugs forever from its digestive tract. I want to hear the tiger roar and I want to see the claws and teeth in action, first by tearing off the lovely gift wrappings of our American heritage, and uncovering that basic human instinct, self-preservation. If our Government is floundering, perhaps it is because they can't hear the voice of the people. Perhaps the people haven't been speaking loudly enough, if at all. We must shake off the lethargy, unit, and through the strength of our masses force our Government to listen and to take certain steps. It is still a government of, by and for the people. But we have become lazy. Shame on us. We must write letters, telephone, send telegrams. The voice of the citizen must make itself heard.

The following represents the actions that one citizen, this writer, feels are obvious:

1. Consolidate the efforts of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and civilian space programs into one cohesive unit, working together, pooling knowledge, resources, material, and the taxpayers' money. This should be immediate action. It should be a crash program to catch up with and beat the Sovi-

ets in all areas of space achievements. Why should they be first? Why should they hold the heavy heavy over our heads? We are a greater, wealthier more powerful nation. We must regain supremacy, and quickly. But it will take a coordination of effort; not the bickering, secretive, strike plagued mess of American competing against American that it has been. It should be considered an act of treason to go on strike at a missile base, and punished accordingly.

2. We should take a good clear look at Cuba, at the utter madness of our country to permit such a situation to exist. We should invade with marines and whatever military needed, blacken the sky over Cuba with U.S. fighters and bombers while our fighting marines land on the beaches backed by U.S. warships. I truly believe not a shot would be fired. I truly believe that the shadows of our military planes alone would have Castro waving the white flag with trembling hands. That is what I think would happen today. Tomorrow, when the missile bases are complete, when Cuba has a retaliatory ability, well, it would be a different story. I feel we should take over Cuba and render her powerless to threaten the north and south continents of America, and so that we American citizens can begin to raise our heads again and let the blush of shame begin to recede from our faces. Is there any law which says we must always let the enemy strike first? There is nothing wrong in a nation being aggressive when she is protecting her very life. The tiger doesn't wait for the enemy to march up with crashing feet and steal her cubs before she strikes. She goes out and fights to the death, if necessary, to preserve her family when she is first aware of the enemy's direction and purpose. (I don't know why I keep using a tiger as a symbol—it just seemed appropriate. Our national emblem of course is the eagle. The eagle reacts in exactly the same way as the tiger.)

3. Another, immediately if not sooner, thing we should do is to demand that the United States completely sever all connections with the United Nations. Then we can really start carrying our heads high again. The United Nations needs us because they use us. They mold us to their will. They drain us for their own gain and everything they do helps the Soviets and furthers world communism, while injuring us. We do not need the United Nations. The creation of the United Nations coincided, at least in my opinion, with the beginning of our Nation's degeneration and degradation. Why, in the name of Heaven, we have allowed ourselves to wallow in this impossible situation is completely beyond me. I have read and listened to the so-called benefits of our support of and membership in the United Nations, and even though I am certainly not an expert, or maybe because I am not an expert, it has never made sense to me. The title itself is ridiculous. What United Nations? Do we actually feel we are united with the Soviet Union, to mention only one? It just isn't logical that this great, powerful, courageous Nation should continuously engage in an activity that has continuously functioned to the detriment of her interests. To me, it seems sheer madness to pour billions of our taxpayers' dollars via foreign aid into Communist controlled countries. Not to mention tools, machinery, wheat, foodstuffs, etc. Since when does a country finance, feed, and sustain the enemy who has sworn he will dedicate his life to destroy her? Throughout the centuries wars have been won by "starving out" the enemy, and many times this has been the only weapon needed.

4. We must oppose every single attempt of our Government to control those areas of our lives which we can take care of our-

selves. The U.S. Government has no business sticking its nose into the education of our children. We must remain free to educate our children as we want them educated, and we must elect local and State officials and representatives who will strongly resist any effort by our Government to deny us that right under the guise of Federal aid. The same goes for social security as a compulsory tax, medical aid as a compulsory tax. Anything which becomes a compulsory law in this country should be voted on by the people.

5. I feel strongly that the Justices of the Supreme Court of this land be limited to 2 years in office. If ever our Constitution needed amending, it needs it now in relation to the functions and terms of office of our Supreme Court. It is only right that Supreme Court Justices have their records reviewed from time to time, and Justices whose decisions have been questionable and not in the best interests of the preservation of the Constitution of the United States can be removed from office. Do you realize that every Justice in the Supreme Court is on the bench for life? No one group of men in this Nation should have that much total power. Especially when that group represents the top echelon of power. Even the President of the United States has no power over the Supreme Court. Of course Congress has the power to impeach, but has done so rarely, and involves merely a board of inquiry which has resulted in only four removals from office since our Constitution was written.

The hour is very late, maybe too late. I have asked myself, What can I do? The one thing I know I must do is let my feelings be known to those in positions of governmental responsibility. I have said to myself, "one small voice, who will listen?" Maybe no one will listen. My letters may not even be read or taken heed of but I've got to take that chance. I can't just sit here helpless and ashamed and accuse everyone else of being apathetic. Perhaps if my letters were joined by 180 million, or even 80 million perhaps then our experts would be able to consolidate their knowledge and experience with the true will of the people and by putting the brains and logical reasoning powers of all our Nation's experts together, with a clear understanding of what the citizens of this country want, well, maybe the tiger will stop mewling and the new change to a thunderous roar and the sinewy muscles flex and the sharp claws unsheathe and the clear and precise intent of a great civilization of free men will be unmistakable and strike terror into the hearts of the entire Communist world. It is past time to stop cowering *** It is time to begin stalking, and with cunning and courage and stout hearts and never a backward glance—to conquer.

Maybe it is already too late for us. Many people think we are at the end of a fuse which has already been lit. I don't know. Perhaps a lot of people reading this will not agree with me. I may even be accused of wanting war. I feel we are already at war, and losing. All I can say is that my conclusions are based solely on information which has been available to everyone with the power to hear and the ability to read. Namely, the press, radio, TV, magazines, and books. There is so much I have left out. So many sickening facts that space does not permit. If you have been listening and looking and reading and have average intelligence and logical reasoning powers plus a desire to hang on fast to your personal freedom and our Nation's independence, then it seems to me that as surely as night follows day your conclusions should be similar to mine. If they are not, please show me where I have erred.

Sincerely,

Mrs. V. R. THOMSON.

Lizard Lick Man Proposes Cold Cash Plan To Keep Money on Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, a novel undertaking has come to my attention. I found a press release on my desk, announcing a plan to get folks on a cash basis. This indeed is revolutionary in this day of "a dollar down and a dollar when." I was especially impressed that this undertaking is directed by Connie B. Gay, a farm boy from Lizard Lick, N.C., who already has made good and is a friend of many Members of this body.

I believe Mr. Gay's "cash and profit and save" plan deserves wide attention. Therefore, with the permission of the House, I am inserting a portion of the aforementioned press release in the Appendix of the RECORD—and I am sure my colleagues will find it interesting.

The press release follows:

NEW CONSUMER CLUB PROFITS CASH PAYERS

Connie B. Gay, the Lizard Lick, N.C., farm boy who became a Washington, D.C., millionaire by awakening and exploiting America's deep-rooted love of country music, appears to have gripped and run with another even more basic American emotion—anxiety over unpaid bills.

"The average American is in debt to his eyeballs," says Mr. Gay, man of many hats. "Trouble is he's so deep he's afraid to look at how much it's costin' him."

As a successful impresario, writer, talent manager, knife-sharpener pitchman, music publisher, and owner of the Connie B. Gay Broadcasting Corp., Mr. Gay himself does not have to worry about creditmen dogging his footsteps. Anyway, he's a cash and carry man. If he has his way, he will sell a lot of his fellow Americans on the wisdom of doing likewise through his new organization—Cash Card International Club. Philosophy behind the plan is to save people not only the high cost of credit, but to pay them for their thrift. Result, according to Mr. Gay, is more money in more pockets: the consumer, the merchant, and, of course, the instigator of the newly organized cash movement, himself.

Here's how this "credit card in reverse" plan works:

Members join cash card by buying a \$10 membership card which entitles them to discounts from member merchants. The member is provided with a merchant discount directory listing stores and the discounts given at each. After making a purchase, a customer takes out his membership card entitling him to the discount (usually ranging from 5 to 40 percent) and this amount is deducted from his bill.

Assuming a family did all of their buying at any of the several hundred member stores in the District of Columbia area, they would not only save the \$132.40 the average family pays for credit charges, but an additional \$187.48 in discounts—many times the cost of membership. (Figured on average 10-percent discounts and based on Washington-area average annual expenditures for goods and services.) This makes a grand total of \$319.88, or total net savings—including a deduction of \$10 for membership card—of \$309.88 in 1 year. A family whose annual expenditures for goods and services exceed

the area average of \$1,972.94—and most Washington-area families do—of course, saves a correspondingly larger amount.

In the works is still another bonus—a plan which will entitle members to premiums on presentation of a still-to-be-determined amount of cash discount receipts. A club publication, *The Exchequer*, is also planned for distribution to the more than 5 million members which the Gay organization expects to enroll by 1964.

According to Mr. Gay, the businessman benefits through increased cash flow, decreased bookkeeping costs, and customer goodwill which will be reflected in increased sales volume and higher income. Merchants pay no membership fee, and will benefit through advertising and merchandising at no cost to them. Advance market testing indicates that as many as 250,000 cash card memberships will be obtained in the greater Washington area alone.

It is Mr. Gay's view that merchant benefits accruing through increased business and cash flow and decreased costs will more than make up the discounts given customers.

Mr. Gay has no illusions about the obstacles in the way of unqualified public embrace of his idea. He is well aware that American psychology has become increasingly geared to the charge-it-deferred-payment way of life. "It won't be easy," says Mr. Gay realistically. "We have gradually been brainwashed to live by the adage: 'Never pay today, that which you can defer until tomorrow.' But I think if people get wise to how much this is cutting into their budget, and figure how many other things they could buy with their interest money, plus, the discount bonuses, then I think this thing will really go like a house afire."

Nine New Plants Financed by MIBA Will Be Completed and in Operation This Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD G. MCINTIRE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. MCINTIRE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Maine is populated by an enterprising citizenry that assiduously adheres to a do-it-yourself philosophy.

In consonance with this theme of citizens and State independence, the Maine Industrial Building Authority Act of 1957 established a unique organization designed to promote industrial development in the State of Maine.

Under this act, an industrial authority was set up, such an authority being empowered to guarantee up to \$20 million in loans extended by banks and other lending institutions to local nonprofit corporations located throughout the State.

This authority, in order to meet its obligations, was authorized to issue up to \$20 million of its own bonds, and these bonds are fully supported by the full credit of the State of Maine.

Only nonprofit development corporations are entitled to borrow under this program, the maximum for any single loan being \$1 million. Under the program's operation local development corporations rent building facilities to exist-

ing and new industries on a lease or lease-purchase basis. New structures are built only at such times as clients give adequate assurance of active interest.

The act provides that the local agencies must have a minimum of 10-percent equity in any undertaking; hence, participating banks could lend as much as 90 percent of the valuation. Furthermore, the act permits that such loans may be made for periods up to 25 years.

Mr. Chairman, I have a particular interest in the functions of this authority, for prior to 1958 the Federal Reserve Act prohibited national banks from making loans in excess of 66% percent of valuation. This had the effect of preventing national banks in the State of Maine from participating in full accord with the 90-percent-of-valuation loan provision of the Maine Industrial Building Authority Act.

Through legislation introduced by me and other interested Congressmen, this restriction was lifted through an amendment to the Small Business Act of 1958, which permitted 90-percent-of-valuation loans to be made by national banks in those instances where the bonds of a lending authority were supported by the full credit of a State. Through such

an amendment the financial resources of national banks in Maine became sufficiently available to implement the provisions of the Maine Industrial Building Authority Act.

That this State-advanced effort is bearing fruit is borne out by the results, and in this respect I would like to insert into the RECORD an article from the August 31 issue of the Houlton Pioneer Times that gives some insight into the economic dynamics generated by this State-sponsored authority:

[From the Houlton Pioneer Times, Aug. 31, 1961]

NINE NEW PLANTS FINANCED BY MIBA WILL BE COMPLETED AND IN OPERATION THIS YEAR
(By Roderic C. O'Connor, manager, Maine Industrial Building Authority)

Nine new industrial plants, financed with the assistance of the Maine Industrial Building Authority, will be completed and start operations this year.

These plants will provide jobs for 1,300 employees and provide a total payroll of more than \$4 million. The plants will have a total floor area of about 500,000 square feet.

Total cost of the nine plants is over \$5 million; insured mortgage loans involve \$4.25 million, with \$3 million of such loans made by private Maine lending institutions.

The nine new plants, their location, cost, footage, and products are:

Tenant firm	Location	Project cost	Square footage	Product
Morningstar-Paisley, Inc.	Houlton	\$1,100,000	60,000	Potato starch modifications.
Hamilton & Sons, Inc.	Auburn	33,000	5,000	Metal fabrications.
Northeast Gases, Inc.	Saco	80,000	8,000	Industrial gases.
Potato Service, Inc.	Presque Isle	1,250,000	120,000	Processed potatoes.
Hancock-Ellsworth Tanners, Inc.	Hancock	800,000	70,000	Sheepskin leather.
R. & L. Manufacturing Co., Inc.	Waterboro	160,000	23,000	Trophies.
Vahsing, Inc., Maine.	Easton	1,150,000	95,000	Processed potatoes.
Casco Printing Co.	Portland	130,000	15,000	Job printing.
Lynn Innersole Co., Inc.	Saco	65,000	98,000	Shoe innersoles.

Straight Talk to the Russian People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OR

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, recently I proposed the establishment of an Ideological Warfare Agency. The purpose would be to develop and execute a more effective policy for waging a psychological-ideological battle against the Communists.

Over the years, efforts—many of them excellent within their limitations—have been conducted in this field. If we are to win this significant nonmilitary contest, however, we need a more effective effort to: First, correlate the scattered efforts now widely dispersed in the Government; second, cope with the strong-voiced Red propaganda machine; and third, and more effectively tell the story of freedom.

Recently, the Evening Star published a thought-provoking article by David Lawrence entitled "Straight Talk to Russian People." The article again re-emphasized that we need a stronger global voice to sell the ideas and ideals of freedom. I ask unanimous consent to

have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STRAIGHT TALK TO RUSSIAN PEOPLE—GIGANTIC PUBLICITY JOB HELD IMPERATIVE ON SOVIET DICTATOR'S PLAYING WITH FIRE

(By David Lawrence)

Everyone in America would back up almost any effort President Kennedy might make to avert another world war and to bring about a reduction in the current cost of "peacetime" armaments.

But, as so often happens when governments get bogged down in the rituals of diplomacy, the obvious is overlooked. Reliance is too often placed on strong talk to the Kremlin about bigger and better weapons or the mobilization of armies. But this doesn't reach the Russian people.

Today the most obvious fact staring the whole world in the fact is that a dictatorship exists in the Soviet Union which lies to its own people by completely distorting and misrepresenting the viewpoint of the western countries. This is not an academic matter for the Russians, either. For if war comes, millions of them will lose their lives.

Yet the U.S. Government is falling down badly in communicating its views to the people behind the Iron Curtain. The excuse usually offered is that it is hard to penetrate Communist-controlled areas and that radio broadcasts can be "jammed." This is partly true, but there are ways of reaching into the Soviet Union if a massive effort were made by the United States.

It seems incomprehensible that in a country like America, where publicity and advertising have reached such a high degree of effectiveness, the Government itself should be fumbling and bumbling in presenting its views to the world. President Kennedy has an alert mind, and he fully understands the art and value of publicity in domestic politics. It is a mystery why he has allowed the publicity of the U.S. Government abroad to be neglected.

It is not a question of which individual should manage the U.S. Information Agency or how much staff the Voice of America itself should have for its broadcasting operations. There is need for a vigorous and aggressive policy with a powerful directive from the President of the United States which would authorize direct appeals to the people of the Soviet Union. The bureaucrats may oppose it, but they are not realistic in view of the threat that faces the world.

The existing directives, for instance, are based on a pussyfoot policy of forbearance. They provide that care should be taken not to seem to be dealing with internal affairs in Russia. So broadcasts are made in vague and abstract jargon, designed mostly to reach so-called intellectuals. Highbrow lectures are offered to such an audience, when simple truths need to be stressed to publicize the current behavior of Nikita Khrushchev.

Today, when the world faces the possibility of a nuclear war, is not the time to handle America's viewpoint with tenderness or politeness. It is a time for straightforward and plain speaking by the American people to the Russian people.

The United States, moreover, need not hesitate to tell the Russian people that Nikita Khrushchev is threatening world peace, that he is suppressing the truth about his own nuclear tests, and is following a dangerous course which can lead to a war that neither side really wants.

Facts about the suppression of the truth and the enslavement of hundreds of millions of human beings behind the Iron Curtain—these are matters which need emphasis over the airwaves everywhere. They must be repeated persistently, day in and day out, so that the whole world will have a basis for condemnation of real tyranny and real colonialism.

Nor is there any good reason to ignore the nonaligned or neutral nations either. Their peoples, too, should be told the truth. In many of these countries, which profess the virtues of their neutrality, censorship of the press and radio is maintained, so that the American viewpoint doesn't become known or is deliberately misrepresented. Many Americans are beginning to ask why billions of dollars of their tax funds are being given away in foreign aid to such nations while virtually nothing is being spent by America in those countries to give directly to the people themselves the truth about American policies.

A gigantic job of publicity is imperative. It will require not just the \$140 million which Congress has planned to appropriate for information services abroad, but at least \$1 billion. Congress would provide the funds quickly if there were a constructive policy and a comprehensive plan. This could, moreover, save the world from a costly war and make unnecessary some of the huge expenses being incurred by this country with its military budget of more than \$46 billion.

When will the administration stop overlooking the obvious? Time is running out. Officialdom has sidestepped the problem for the last 15 years. It is not a political or partisan question. It is a simple matter of directly telling the peoples of the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc, in their own languages, that the West is truly interested in peace and that the Soviet leaders are playing with fire and can bring on a nuclear war.

**An Analysis and History of Castro's
Communist Revolution**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following address delivered to the Miami Kiwanis Club on August 11 by Carlos Todd, former political editor of the *Times of Havana*, gives the best analysis and history of Castro's Communist revolution, and is worthy of our study and attention.

The question again arises, Why did our State Department not know these things, or did they know and were sympathetic to the revolution? These questions should be answered.

The address follows:

**TEXT OF ADDRESS MADE TO THE KIWANIS CLUB
OF MIAMI—AUGUST 11, 1961**

Gentlemen, allow me to say that it is both a privilege and a pleasure to address you today in a city that has opened its generous heart to those of us who have been forced to leave our country.

Miami, which up to a short time ago—it feels like centuries—was the resort city of Cubans, has now become our home; and it is the people of Miami, with their friendliness and willingness to help, that has made a painful transition a great deal easier on all of us.

I wish to speak to you today about a murderous process that has been erroneously, if not indifferently, described as the Cuban problem, the Castro mess, and again as tension in the Caribbean.

I am a Cuban citizen, born in Cuba, who has lived most of his adult life in that lovely and unfortunate island. As political editor for the newspaper *Times of Havana*, I lived through nearly 2 years of the frightful fiasco that is the so-called Castro revolution—in reality the Communist conquest of Cuba.

I have been witness to the total eradication of all freedoms in Cuba; to the destruction of its wealth and industry by the Red invaders; to the studied dismemberment of the Cuban family; and to the poisoning of the minds of young and old, to the degree where mountainous hatreds have been deliberately instilled into the hearts of a people who were once gay and happy and carefree.

I have seen all this happen before my very eyes; and I cannot dismiss it with the word "tension."

It is totally inadequate to say that I speak to you about "tension in the Caribbean," when that so-called tension has become open warfare to the death.

There may be some among you that still believe that the word "war" implies only much shooting and desolation and nothing else. Only very recently, we have had occasion to witness this type of warfare in the ill-fated, abortive invasion attempt by a handful of young Cubans who willingly sacrificed their lives for the cause of freedom.

Nevertheless, that skirmish—for it was no more than that—was only a small armed engagement which served to accentuate the other kind of war, a war that is being waged relentlessly in the Caribbean and in every corner of this earth, the war for public opinion.

That tyrant and superb politician, Adolf Hitler, wrote "Mein Kampf" that public opinion was the mightiest factor of our time. He used it well and used it to the hilt. He has been surpassed and left far

behind by Soviet Russia, which adopted some of his methods and added embellishments of her own.

This war—the war of advertising, for that is what propaganda really is—is being fought with tenacity, intelligence, and diligence by international communism.

The immediate and direct result of this type of warfare is what you call "tension," under the accepted semantics of the Western World. But it remains war to the death, no matter what you choose to call it. Mao Tse-tung recognized the principle years ago and wrote, "Politics is war without bloodshed. War is politics with bloodshed."

This tension, this war without bloodshed in the Caribbean, dates from the time that Fidel Castro, together with his Communist master, Ernesto Ché Guevara, landed in Cuba in December 1956. From that moment, and throughout the succeeding months, tension increased fearfully within the island of Cuba; but it had not, as yet, reached any appreciable degree outside the country.

Tension in the Caribbean began from that date as it inevitably begins in every single place in the world where the Communists initiate their well tried and successful program of infiltration, subversion, propagandizing and bribery to secure total power in any given area. The Congo, Laos, Vietnam, Berlin, Cuba—every single focus of tension can be directly attributed to Communist action.

Open bloodless warfare—tension, if you insist in calling it that—intensified and finally burst forth from Cuba with explosive force, immediately after Castro and his Communists came to power on January 1 of 1959.

It became open warfare in the armed sense when the Cuban Communist Government attempted an abortive invasion of Panama in April of 1959. It is worthy of note that the invaders were politely returned to Cuba by the Panamanian Government. Castro tried again, in August of that year, to invade the Dominican Republic, in an attempt that also died at birth. The seas around the island were containing armed Cuban Communist aggression.

They did not and have not contained the open bloodless warfare, the tension that has spread throughout the countries of South and Central America. It has become impossible to limit that warfare to the Caribbean, to quarantine it, as you would a deadly disease, from the rest of Latin America. It is increasing daily and it is achieving new victories and faithful adherents in this hemisphere.

It has invaded this country today; and for the last 4 months it has become the subject of urgent discussion from the top of the White House down to the home of the humblest citizen who reads newspapers or watches television.

For the origins of this tension, one may begin with the relationship that existed between the United States and the nations of the Caribbean, Central and South America, in the era of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Those relations were at an alltime high; and the political, commercial, and industrial prestige of this country remained unchallenged in the hemisphere. The cordiality between your neighbors to the south and your government was a strong bond for hemispheric unity.

Curiously enough, the policy of the good neighbor became, unconsciously to Latin American nations, the policy of the good father. An umbrella of protection—real or imaginary, as you wish—did not permit the intrusion of world power politics on the Latin American scene. The peoples of our countries felt, at that time, that the United States was concerned with their welfare, and reacted accordingly.

It was only after World War II, when militant communism began to march inexorably in every single continent in the

world, that the Latin American mind began to have serious doubts of American intentions. Aid in enormous quantities went to reconstruct the ruin of Europe; the Asians received their share of largesse; African countries began to acquire new importance in world politics; and in their comfortable acceptance of a sure thing, the United States did not turn an eye on Latin America. We became poor relations of no consequence.

Further, and more grievous still, the United States, whilst leaving the Latin American republics to fend for themselves, resigned its position as the pater familias of the hemisphere; and in doing so, effectively relinquished its position of leadership. You were no longer captain of the vessel. You became a mere member of the crew, defaulting all the privileges of the master of the ship.

You refused to assume the responsibility and the risk that had made you the undisputed leader of this hemisphere; and, instead of a former father, you became a rather questionable uncle.

Nothing had been basically changed in the everyday world of diplomacy, business and industry; but there was a subtle difference in the overall picture that we Latin Americans were quick to notice. In the world of human relationships, there is nothing so appalling and insulting as to be considered safe by another person. It is an unspoken insult; and the dividing line between tolerance and contempt becomes very blurred under the circumstances.

That was the position in which you found yourself when the specter of communism began to haunt the hemisphere; and you frantically tried to buy and hold tin-pot dictators in different Latin American countries to protect your holdings against the advance of the Red hordes. In doing so you played right into Communist hands by actions which brought the inevitable reaction to dictatorships; revolutions, and the installment of the so-called independent governments of the left. The leadership that you had once assumed and kept for so many years continued to slip from your grasp—and in your paralysis of action and with your political blunders, you continued to make matters worse.

For the liberty of action which you once possessed as the hemispheric leader, had now passed out of your hands. You were the leaders no longer; and our peoples began to look upon you with ever-increasing doubts. In 1958, following the innocent theory that making a better humpty-dumpty would clear up matters for all concerned, your aid and your confused torpor unleashed the one force in this hemisphere that you had been so earnestly trying to repel: international communism.

Following the insane belief that the creation of an "independent government of the left" in Cuba would show the rest of Latin America the pristine purity of your intentions, you were—to use one of your expressions—conned into believing in and vitally aiding and abetting the rise of Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Not that you were not warned. Your own special Government departments informed your higher authorities of the nature of the hoodlums that run Cuba today before their accession to power. The information and the advice were ignored; and on January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro took over Cuba; and then, Ernesto Ché Guevara, of the Argentine and international communism, took over Fidel Castro. Your "independent government of the left" became the first firm foothold of the Soviets and the Red Chinese in this hemisphere—and you helped them to do it.

Imagine, then, the feeling that has been rising in Latin America since then. Every day that passed brought new insult and calumny from the Cuban Communists; and the

United States, the greatest power on this earth sat back and remained wrapped in silent dignity. "El que calla, otorga," says the Spanish proverb—"He who remains silent, relinquishes"—which is exactly the manner in which your actions were interpreted by the people of Latin America. The great Nation of the north was great no more. A small speck on the Caribbean could insult it, confiscate its goods, kidnap its planes, jail and execute its citizens, arrest its diplomats, snub its Ambassador, and get away with it.

Oh, you had your troubles. If you intervened, you would be called bullies and aggressors. If you didn't, then you became the goat of the hemisphere and the world.

The picture of a declining United States, enervated, paralyzed, vacillating, robbed of the ability to act, was a delicious one to be enjoyed. You worried about popularity—about what the other fellow would say—in a world that couldn't care less.

For some Latin Americans, the time had come to take sides. Castro said early in 1959, "You are with the revolution or against it." This has become the cry in all Latin America *** "You are with communism or against it." And never forget that people always wish to be on the winning side. So far, you are losing.

The recent fiasco in Cuba has only served to confirm that conviction to Caribbean and other Latin American nations. The harm that has been done by the failure of a small expedition is incalculable; and you now stand on the threshold of a "Götterdämmerung" in this hemisphere.

For the tension, the open warfare that emanated from little Cuba has grown to monstrous proportions in Latin America, and your own Security is being threatened, according to the recent words of President Kennedy.

They have served, if only momentarily, to give pause to the Communist offensive; and they have brought some measure of hope to those people of the Caribbean and the hemisphere, which have always looked to the United States as the paladin of freedom and the shield against Communist aggression and intervention.

For the moment only; for that aggression and intervention has been made perfectly evident in the Caribbean today, with a Cuba invaded and conquered by the evil forces that guide the moves of the men of the Kremlin and Peiping.

The presidential words did not allay the fact that the defeat of an invasion of Communist Cuba has been a major defeat for this country in the eyes of all Latin America and the world. Condemnation for the American-backed invasion in the United Nations and in many Latin American quarters is not a condemnation for U.S. intervention in Cuba, and I say intervention between quotation marks. The condemnation comes because, in the eyes of the world, this country is lost.

Will Rogers said it in well chosen words, viewing the American political scene years ago, when he stated, "On the day after election, they do not ask you whether you held a nice, clean campaign. The only question they ask you is: Did you win?"

And that is the only question that was asked silently by the nations of Latin America after the failure of the U.S.-backed, Cuban-manned invasion. Did you win? Nothing else. For nothing else matters.

Consider, ladies, and gentlemen, that these nations who regarded you as a protector—although they paradoxically screamed intervention just recently—have only to glance at the map of the world to judge you a bad security risk.

Within the short space of 16 years, the Communists have won control over more

than 800 million people in 13 countries; and they have advanced from their initial base in Russia to win sensational successes in four continents *** including North America. It is incontestable to say at this moment that they are winning that war to the death, the war of tension. And it is perfectly evident that, with the exception of the Cuban skirmish, they have done it without resorting to an all-out shooting war.

Indeed, they have won an armed clash at your very doorstep, which has left the people of this country stunned and aghast at their impotence before the Communist invader.

The world knows that the Communist onslaught on Cuba was not an attack on our little island. It was, as it is, a direct attack by Soviet Russia and Communist China on the United States of America. That you have permitted this attack and acknowledged a small armed victory with impunity—no matter what other considerations must be taken into account by you—has not been lost on Latin Americans.

Weak countries, like people, will forever look to the strong for guidance and help. If the United States is not ready to repel the Communist invader, if it does not lead us Latin Americans in the fight against these forces of evil, why should we act? In fact, how can we act against the armed might of Soviet Russia and its Chinese ally, already firmly entrenched across the straits of Florida?

Be certain that no matter how you act, you will find worldwide criticism hurled at you. You are called imperialists and aggressors without sending a single armed man into Cuba. You will be called much worse if you do. The Communists will hold a worldwide propaganda feast, and the United States will be served up with an apple in its mouth.

Yet, if you are to survive as a nation, if you are to keep what little prestige Americans can power still maintains, you must act, and you must act quickly. Otherwise, Khrushchev's words will become tragically prophetic within a very short time: "Your grandchildren will live under communism." The man means what he says. He intends to see to it that it becomes a reality.

We Latin Americans are accused of being dramatic, passionate and mercurial in our ways. Underneath that exterior, we are all hard realists. And it is difficult for us, as realists, to understand exactly how you have permitted such open and arrogant Communist intrusion in your own bailiwick, with total impunity for the intruders on our hemispheric and your national security.

It is impossible to deal with the Soviets and the Chinese by conventional methods of modern diplomacy. They operate in exactly the same manner as do your gangsters, who work completely outside human laws and ignore them altogether when it suits their purposes. It is inconceivable that you have not realized, as a nation, that the exact, same methods of Hitler's Germany nearly brought a German victory in Europe for precisely the same reasons. People simply refused to believe that nations could act thus.

It is happening again. But this time the enemy is organized on a worldwide basis and is busily subverting, infiltrating and corrupting the very system that you are called upon to defend—and doing it from within your own borders. And you are tacitly permitting him to do so with ghastly unconcern.

Do not believe for one moment that the rest of Latin America is not going to follow in the footsteps of Cuba. The southern continent will go entirely Communist; and it will do so very soon, unless you act rapidly to prevent it.

To those of you who still do not believe that a well organized, aggressive minority can take over a country with frightening ease, let me point to the case in Cuba. And, gentlemen, do not forget that right here, in the United States, a well organized, aggressive minority succeeded in changing your Constitution. Recall the 18th amendment. Recall, please, that a majority of your people bowed to the wishes of a well organized, aggressive minority, which condemned you to years of prohibition.

Meanwhile, the Communists are busy with plans for their Latin American takeover. Czech machineguns are being shipped to Colombian Red elements; and frenzied efforts are being made to unite them into a cohesive and effective force. In Cuba, Castro's guerrilla tutor is training Cubans for the invasion of Venezuela and Panama. The main attack is being directed against Venezuela, where Betancourt's hold becomes more tenuous with every day that passes. Brazil is another danger zone. Only in Peru—where documents of the most incriminating nature were abducted from the Cuban Embassy by Cubans, providing a huge conspiracy against the Peruvian Government, has communism been contained—not defeated.

At the moment, you stand tied hand and foot by the very "entangling alliances" that George Washington warned against. Whilst Soviet Russia conveniently ignores the United Nations and international treaties when it suits her—and gets away with it—you are ensnared in a web which will eventually smother you to death; and which is now being used with diabolical cleverness to stay your hand in your own defense.

The weapons that you have at hand in the international arena lie forgotten by your former Latin American allies. The Rio Treaty and the Caracas Declaration, which provided the means and the force to cast out communism from this hemisphere, are crumbling into dust.

You are being slowly and inexorably surrounded. Most of Europe is gone. Asia is practically gone. The entire west coast of Africa, facing the Atlantic, is going. Latin America is about to go.

It does not take much imagination to see the realization of Lenin's dream when he said, "We shall surround the United States. Without having to fire a shot, it will drop into our hands like a ripe fruit."

If this country is to survive, it must accept not only the responsibilities, but also the risks, of power. And it must come to understand one of the basic laws of power: it must be demonstrated or it must be used. Otherwise, power is nonexistent.

As Americans, you are faced with the greatest challenge that history has ever hurled at you. As Americans, you have always been mortal enemies of tyranny and despotism; of mass executions and mass imprisonment; of the concentration camp and the torture chamber; of viciousness and cruelty and oppression. Time and again you have fought against these things; and now you must fight against them once more.

Yesterday, you called these things nazism and you fought and won. Today these same things are called communism; and again you might fight and win. For if you do not face the issue squarely, you will go down to inevitable defeat, and the entire world will become prey to the forces of evil.

Your forefathers never wavered, never hesitated, never counted the risks, never considered the odds *** and they won. You, their descendants, cannot allow this precious heritage to be destroyed.

The fate of the entire world is at stake. You hold too much of the future of mankind to allow it to slip so heartrendingly from your hands.

Redtape and Dictation Result When Cities Give in to the Lure of Government Assistance

**EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OR**

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to read in the September 1961 issue of Nation's Business an article by a former Peoria educator pointing up the evils of Federal aid to education.

Dr. Anthony Marinaccio, the author, has devoted 27 years of his life to education. He has been superintendent of public schools in Davenport, Iowa, since July 1959. He also has been superintendent or assistant superintendent of schools in three other Midwestern communities—including Peoria, Ill.—a college professor and school principal.

The article follows:

EDUCATOR SAYS: "WE REJECT FEDERAL AID"

Don't let anyone tell you that Federal aid to education won't lead to Federal control. I have been on the receiving end of Federal aid and I have seen the controls develop and grow.

It's a dangerous delusion—this notion that aid from the Federal Government does not lead to interference with the freedom of local schools to manage their own affairs.

In a Missouri community where I served as superintendent of schools I saw a dramatic example of how this can happen. The public schools there were receiving Federal funds for vocational home economics education.

Ostensibly, there were no strings attached. In fact, however, we were harassed by a school supervisor who, in her capacity as an inspector employed by the State—but actually paid by Uncle Sam—attempted to force changes in our curricula and facilities which our own vocational training specialists knew to be inadvisable.

When we refused to accept her ideas, she said, "Well, I am not sure that I want to approve the funds you get for this program."

What did we do? We did what I feel every school system in America should do in a situation where its basic rights are threatened. We rejected the Federal program and ran our own.

There are other examples of the controls which come with so-called aid from Washington. But before I enumerate some of those which my 27 years in education have revealed, I want to make this point most emphatically to all Americans—and particularly those responsible for the training of our youth: America is in real peril of losing its freedom as a result of corrosion from within, and that corrosion, I am convinced, will be hastened if the Nation adopts large-scale programs in which the Central Government finances local schools.

Some will say that I am an alarmist, that I am painting the picture in unnecessarily dark colors. Let me say that I am not wearing blinders or fighting for a preconceived idea. I am, I think, a realist. I know that sometimes circumstances make it necessary for the Federal Government to help localities with their school problems.

One such special case is what is known as an impacted area. These are communities where, because of Federal installations, tremendous numbers of children come in suddenly and fill up the schools. Such communities should be given Federal help.

NEED FOR AID NOT WIDESPREAD

In most public school systems, there is no need for asking or expecting Federal help. The job can be done at the local level—where it should and must be done if we are to preserve our freedom. America has been built out of this thing we call freedom. People can learn how to handle freedom—to be free—only if they have such powers as free education. Essential to free education is the power of the community to decide for itself what its schools should teach, and how to finance the teaching.

If we allow Federal aid to education to come on a big scale, we will be moving—perhaps slowly at first, but more rapidly later on—to centrally directed education that could take us down the same road traveled by Mussolini and Hitler and Stalin and all the totalitarian societies of the past. I don't want this to happen. But it could happen. It's precisely the danger which Washington and Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were concerned about when they met at the inn in Williamsburg after the Revolutionary War.

"Now that we have won this thing," they said in effect, "are we able to educate the masses of Americans to be free and to have responsibility for control of their freedom—or will chaos result?"

Proponents of Federal aid to education continually assure us there will be no control. In Davenport, in Peoria, Ill., in Missouri, and in other places where I have had contact with public schools, I found the opposite to be true. Control does follow aid.

Those who administer aid want to check the programs and courses of a study. They suggest programs. They suggest the type of personnel you should hire and what you should pay them. They suggest what you should teach and, through these suggestions, they are actually controlling the situation.

Uncle Sam cannot hand out large sums of money without checking to make sure this money is properly spent. When you get to checking the spending you have to have a standard against which to check it. This becomes control. It is really as it should be. Billions of dollars should not be loosely distributed and their use left unmonitored. So, you're in a vicious circle. If you're running a public school system which receives Federal tax dollars, you have to pay attention to what the Federal Government or its agents say, or you just won't qualify for the funds.

Look at the National Defense Education Act of 1958 which sets up grants for science and mathematics.

The preamble to this act disclaims any intention to control local schools, yet you should have seen the thick report which we had to prepare in Davenport if we wanted to qualify for NDEA funds. We had to spell out in detail our program, our organization, and so forth. If that isn't control, what is it?

I know of communities which are spending thousands of dollars on science equipment, language laboratories, additional guidance personnel and tests financed from NDEA funds before they are ready for these things and before they know what to do with the new facilities.

This is an outrageous drain on American taxpayers. Many such communities spend the money from NDEA simply because it is there and its availability invites someone to spend it.

In my earlier experience with vocational education, the supervisor wanted us to redo our home economics laboratory. Instead of having a limited number of areas in which to teach cooking and so on, she insisted on having enough for everybody.

Well, this would have been a tremendous waste. We knew we would have only so many students in there, and we didn't want to leave other areas idle. After we rejected the federally supported program, we split

the student group so that some were cooking, some were sewing, and some doing other things. That way we saved a lot of money and—most important—did a better job of teaching.

We are now starting an electronic program under vocational training for adults. Federally connected people, through the State, worked with us in making out the courses of study, and the plans for the program. They made suggestions for the kind of person we should find, and how much we should pay him.

In their letter they said, "These are only suggestions." Well now, you probably know what "only suggestions" means coming from a superior office.

The drive for Federal aid to education has been gaining momentum in recent years because of a tremendous growth in the numbers of children to be educated and the teachers and facilities needed to do the educating. In addition, inflation has led to a rise in the cost of materials needed for school construction and, most important, in the salary requirements of teachers, many of whom are still underpaid. The net impact of all these pressures in many communities has been almost revolutionary. The average taxpayer sometimes can't see why his taxes should be so high.

We have to get across to the taxpayer—at the local level—that his higher taxes are buying better schools and better education. If he is tempted to think that running to the Federal treasury will relieve the burden, he must be shown that nothing comes from Washington that doesn't originate in his own pocket.

Most communities can handle these increased needs locally if they will recognize the needs and have the initiative to do the job. In Davenport, where our board of education is on record as opposing Federal aid, we overcame the problem of teacher pay. Our school board spearheaded the campaign, starting about 3 years ago. The board enlisted the support of our local chamber of commerce, and other civic groups. Result: In 3 years—counting next year, which is already budgeted—the average classroom teacher will have realized a pay hike of from \$1,000 to \$3,000.

We did this by getting local support for a school tax increase. I am gratified by the result. It has raised the morale of our teachers. They have seen that the public recognizes their economic status and have thrown themselves into the job. They have organized new courses of study, invented new materials for the classroom, introduced language labs, including the teaching of foreign languages to children in the second grade. They work after school and on Saturdays.

LOCAL ACTION ESSENTIAL

This is the heart of the matter. Local action to solve local problems. Not enough communities are doing this, in my opinion. Too many bond issues are thrown out because of lack of understanding; too many tax levies are being voted down. When that happens, the superintendent of schools and board of education run to the Federal Government for money.

We lost one bond issue last year but a committee came right back to push it and get the job done. One of the obstacles is the fact that the administration has come out for Federal aid. Many people in Davenport, meeting me on the street, say: "We're not against your program, but our taxes are high and we think we can get the money from the Federal Government."

One of the things which we should all recognize, realistically, is that if Federal aid is ever voted on a massive scale, many communities—including my own—will tend to think that they should apply for it, just to get their share. This is another reason why

it is so important that the Federal programs be stopped before they get started.

I have studied history, and I am disturbed by the lessons it teaches. I see some ominous things in our society which emerged in past societies prior to their collapse. One of the most menacing signs is a drift into centralization, abandonment of individual responsibility.

What is happening in America today is comparable to what happened to Rome and Greece and Egypt. After the individual citizens of those states arose to great heights and everything became abundant, they forgot how they got the abundance. We are living better than we have ever lived, yet I wonder if we are not forgetting how we got there.

We got there through individual initiative, not by turning to someone else to solve our problems. If we let the centralization trend continue, we will wind up in the predicament described to me by a Russian teacher to whom I talked recently. I asked this teacher why Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders are pushing so hard to surpass America.

"We won't have to fight you," this teacher replied with cold impersonality. "You will fall from within."

The reason why we are drifting toward the superstate and consequent loss of local initiative, stems, I feel, from widespread ignorance of our economic and political system. Our youngsters—for the most part—simply do not know what got us where we are today, and what makes our system tick. The same must be said about our teachers.

In our public schools you see very little in our curricula that even refers to our system of free enterprise. The student has to elect one economic course out of 12 years of work, one semester. We teach our economic system in only an incidental way.

Let me illustrate this: Say a youngster makes a pair of book ends in shop. He gets the mistaken notion that, since he paid 15 cents for the two pieces of scrap wood he used, and perhaps 15 cents for his shellac and what not, the book ends are worth less than a dollar. Then, when he sees a pair of book ends in a store window for \$19.95, he assumes that somebody is making \$19.

If our teachers understood our economic setup better they would say:

"Now look, boys, you are going to make a pair of book ends," and then they would study together how book ends are produced by industry; what the overhead cost is; how much goes for taxes; what it costs to supply the tools and to pay the workers. When you put it all together you might find a 2 percent margin of profit, or 3 or 4, and that would give the youngsters a more accurate grasp of competitive enterprise.

Why are our teachers so poorly equipped in economics? Many of today's teachers weren't taught economics when they were in school—or, at least weren't motivated to study it. You must add to this the fact that some teachers feel they do not receive an adequate financial return from the society they serve.

RETURN TO OUR EARLIER VALUES

The challenge we face nationally has subtle aspects. When I was a boy young people were quickly acquainted with the fact that they had responsibilities. We carried groceries, or sold door to door. The importance of hard work, initiative, and self-reliance was made plain to us not only in our own families, but in our schools and in our communities.

We have slipped away from those principles, and we must get back to them. Our emphasis should not be on having big government do more and more for the individual, but on the individual doing more and more for himself.

If Federal aid to education becomes a reality, I am afraid it will mark the first step

toward complete control of the education process by government. Dictation would move slowly, but surely, just as it did in Mussolini's Italy, where even the textbooks were changed and Il Duce's picture finally showed up on about every fifth page. The schools would eventually become an agency of government, and many people would take their children out of them, leaving the public institutions to accommodate only the paupers and unfortunate whom no one else would take into their private schools. Even private schools would be drawn to the magnet of Federal aid.

We must not let these things happen. The public school is the basis of our strength. It's the bulwark of our society.

In the future we must teach our children to be able to make comparisons between our way of life and communism, but the only way we can teach these things is, first of all, to make sure that they understand what America stands for. Then we should try and teach the truth about communism as nearly as we can see it, and as nearly as we can tell the story. This becomes a difficult thing because our teachers, while they are well meaning and patriotic, generally don't have a foundation which would enable them to compare the American way of life with communism.

I would want to have an intense in-service education program so that our teachers would know. Out of this would come a strong desire to promote the American way.

For a long time I have felt rather comfortable about our relationships with Russia, thinking that someday the people would overthrow their government, but after talking with some Russians, I don't believe they are about to overthrow the Government. They have a strong desire, almost a religious feeling, that their country is going to rise to tremendous heights.

They have been imbued with the idea that they are going to surpass America. They have been given a little more than they had—and they had nothing before—and this to them proves that they are making progress.

We must give our youngsters the same faith and strong desire to fight for and to promote American values, and I am afraid that is an area where we are falling down.

We face a difficult job, but we must get this job done, or we truly will fall from within.

Controlling the Pesticides

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted I insert in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article entitled "Controlling the Pesticides," appearing in the New York Times of July 31, 1961, setting forth the dangers inherent to our people and wildlife in pest-spraying programs carried on either entirely or in large part from Federal Government subsidy and assistance.

With the dangers so richly inherent in the use of these pesticides and with the lack of coordination manifested heretofore in their utilization by the Federal Government and States, it is indeed a happy sign to observe that one of our country's leading newspapers recognizes the grave danger of haphazard use of

these extremely toxic and dangerous substances.

The article follows:

CONTROLLING THE PESTICIDES

Efforts to modify Government pest-spraying programs, so as to safeguard public health and minimize damage to wildlife, are making some progress. But the recklessness of official pest-control agencies is only part of the problem.

Government uses but a small fraction of the estimated three to four billion pounds of the so-called economic poisons that are being spread annually, and in increasing volume, across the American landscape. Most of the new, potent chemicals are sprayed or broadcast privately by farmers or householders with little thought given to the effects upon wildlife, to the consequences of a build-up of poisons in the soil, or the dangers of runoff into streams and reservoirs.

Drenching trees and the soil beneath them with DDT has been highly destructive of bird life in many communities, while failing to halt the spread of Dutch elm disease. There is evidence that some insect problems have grown worse with the use of chemicals, the effects of which are not yet fully known.

Federal and State studies of stream pollution show a growing number of instances where fish have been killed by agricultural poisons. In one example cited by the U.S. Public Health Service, fish kills occurred in 15 different tributaries in the Tennessee River Valley following the application of an insecticide to cotton fields in eight Alabama counties.

To meet this difficult and growing problem two things are necessary. The first is more intensive research into safe control methods and more specific poisons, i.e., materials that will kill the pest without damaging a variety of other living forms. The second need is for adequate information to the public about the dangers.

At present no agency of the Federal Government, and probably none in most States, has been given authority or direction to instruct the public in safe methods of applying pesticides and in the hazards of misuse. If the industry fails to assume its own responsibility, Government may have to step in with controls.

Commencement Address by Donald Ripley at Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, High School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, during these trying times, it behooves each of us to do our very best. The following address by Mr. Donald B. Ripley, principal of Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, High School, is an inspiration to all of us. I know the graduating class of this past year will long remember his sound presentation to them:

COMMENCEMENT SPEECH BY DONALD B. RIPLEY, JUNE 8, 1961

Tonight you have reached one of the first major crossroads in your life, which road will you choose. You and I were born into a society designed to stimulate individual effort through individual freedom and with offers of individual rewards—and; after see-

ing this produce more of the good things of life for more people than any other in the history of man, we suddenly begin to lose our nerve. We get soft. We start running scared. We begin to worship security instead of opportunity. We sneak around frantically seeking protection instead of developing strength. There are those who are trying to protect every human being from the cradle to the grave—who want to make either the Government or labor unions some sort of huge insurance agency to furnish security from sickness, job layoffs, worry, accidents, human error, lack of thrift and old age. The incredible thing is that they believe this king-sized insurance policy on everything in life demands the payment of no premium whatsoever. They certainly haven't been looking very closely at the deductions on their paychecks. What's happened to our old beliefs such as "May the Best Man Win"—"There's Always Room at the Top."

It seems today that one of the finest distinctions to which any one can hope to aspire is to be rated as a common man—a man with no greater potentialities than his neighbor. I suppose there is something safe about it. But it is a deadly thing. It supplants achievement with mediocrity. It replaces human dignity with uniformity. This is a fantastic vote-getting apparatus. It covers ruthless ambition with the cloak of false humility.

It sounds so good—the common man. But that definition has come to mean a man who must be nurtured and protected like some rare tropical flower. We have put this so-called common man on a pedestal.

Isn't it ironic that when we are sick we want an uncommon doctor—when we are at war we want uncommon generals—when we go to church we want uncommon clergymen?

Today we are faced with a national tragedy of too many common men. We need more uncommon men, more people struggling to rise from the ranks, to produce better, to sell more, to make more money, to write better songs, to build better houses, to preach better sermons, to live fuller lives.

Sometimes we have to remind ourselves just who we are. We are not sniveling lackies who are used to plodding along like oxen. We are people who got on a boat and crossed an ocean because we refused to live in a place where man wasn't permitted to decide the things that under God, he ought to have the right to decide for himself.

We are the people who froze to death in the snow at a place called Valley Forge rather than submit to taxation without representation—while the whole world watched. We asked for no guarantee against failure.

We are the people who suffered the awful birthpangs of being born a republic that could not go on being half slave and half free.

We gave the world the electric light. We built the first horseless carriage. We pushed back the horizon of ignorance on land, in the air, and on the sea, in the laws of the land, and in the minds of men. We carried out a program of progress second to none in history *** as individuals, not as a government bureau or a union committee.

If we give all this away piece by piece, inch by inch, then who will answer those thousands who died on the battlefields such as Concord Bridge, Gettysburg, San Juan Hill, the Argonne, the Normandy landing, and Inchon to protect our way of life?

Are we going to have the courage and the faith to pin our present welfare and our future dreams on the idea that has made America great? Or are we going to be panicked and pressured into gradually adopting the very type of economy and social concept which is so distasteful to us when we call it communism?

If this happens, it inevitably follows that on some cold gray morning those who have been striving to succeed will suddenly halt in the harness and look at their penalties and their burdens and decide "Why bother?" And they'll stop. And those who have been riding free will find that nothing is free—and this thing called human dignity—this reflection of the light of God for men to live by will cast its last dying spark into the night to return again only when some other generation buys it back with blood.

America's future lies in the hands of young men and women like you, who must aspire above commonness to greatness. May God grant you the aid to achieve that goal.

True Report on the South

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. RILEY

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. RILEY. Mr. Speaker, along with thousands of other Americans living in the South, I am deeply appreciative of the article written by the senior Senator from South Carolina, Senator OLIN JOHNSTON, which was published in the New York Sunday Times magazine.

This is a factual account of the conditions as they exist today in the South and the efforts of the South to solve a problem which has existed since the founding of this country.

The News and Courier, daily paper of Charleston, S.C., which is one of the oldest newspapers in the United States, has written a very fine editorial expressing appreciation of this article published by the New York Times which I beg to enclose so that all may see that we appreciate the fact that the New York Times has given space for this very timely and objective article by Senator JOHNSTON.

Senator OLIN D. JOHNSTON's article for the New York Times Sunday magazine, published in response to his challenge to the Paper Curtain Press to present the South fairly before the country, carries the unassailable strength of truth.

To anyone familiar with the facts, his account of the background of the current controversy over race is accurate. While naturally the viewpoint is sympathetic to the region which he represents in Congress, Senator JOHNSTON does not deviate for the sake of emphasis from the well-known history of Reconstruction and recovery.

The News and Courier commends Senator JOHNSTON for his journalistic competence, and the Times for giving him space to tell the story. We have no doubt the article will draw replies, perhaps attacks. Some readers of the Times are so conditioned by years of misrepresentation that they will automatically discount Senator JOHNSTON's statements. Many of them, however, have fresh personal experiences and observations that may give them a clearer approach to the South's biracial problems.

For this reason Senator JOHNSTON's exploit in piercing the Paper Curtain is especially timely. He has skillfully avoided some of the irritants that in the past have reduced the effectiveness of southern arguments. If any good thing is to come out of the dreary discussion of race that has filled the columns of the American press, including the News

and Courier, it is a better understanding of one another in the South as well as in the North.

As Negro citizens progress in economic, social, and cultural channels, they will be able to participate more fully in the rewards by their own accomplishments. Also, they may find doors opening more willingly than they do under the pressure of force. Many of the demands being aired nowadays in the press are so unrealistic that the public becomes hopelessly confused. The school integration issue itself is largely false. Negro children are not being denied education. They receive public schooling geared to their needs and taught by members of their own race. Disciplinary problems that plague integrated schools in the North simply do not exist in southern classrooms.

White and Negro families dwell in harmony in communities all over the South so long as they are not disturbed by deliberate agitation. Senator JOHNSTON has performed a public service to both races and all regions in his intelligent report.

Time Has Run Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Arizona Republic on Sunday, September 3, 1961:

TIME HAS RUN OUT

Time has run out for the United States. The Soviet decision to resume nuclear testing has shown the bankruptcy of our foreign policy. President Kennedy and Secretary Rusk can no longer depend on the weak United Nations to solve America's problems. It has no major accomplishment to its credit, nor will it have under present conditions. It cannot resolve the Berlin crisis, except in our ignominious withdrawal. It cannot achieve nuclear or any other kind of disarmament. It has made a mess of the Congo, and promises to repeat the process elsewhere in Africa.

The United States must take the offensive in the cold war. It cannot do so if its hands are tied by its allies and if its course of action is blocked by the fear of offending the neutralists. We must abandon the pious hope that the Soviet Union will agree to a lessening of world tensions. We must forget the fantastic belief that Khrushchev will listen to world opinion.

Today we are confronted with brutal, ruthless power that will yield only to superior power. The United States has that superior power. We can destroy the Soviet Union, and Khrushchev knows it. We must call the Soviet Union's bluff on making Berlin a free city. We must match the Soviet resumption of nuclear testing by renouncing our own foolish ban against testing. We must stop attributing to the Communists the same ethical and moral values that dominate our own thinking.

Above all we must stop the upside-down policy of claiming our defeats are victories. It was no victory when we humbly sought negotiations on Laos, but we talked as though it were. Cuban patriots died valiantly on the beach of the Bay of Pigs while air cover was denied them, but the landing was a bitter failure—and we should have learned our lesson instead of glossing over

our mistake. We were told the Communists were admitting a great defeat when they sealed the borders of West Berlin, but the world saw only Communist strength in that illegal action.

When the Soviet Union announced it would resume atomic testing, Secretary of State Rusk said the Soviet disregard of world opinion "should sink in hard everywhere." Of course, the news reports are full of neutralist dismay over the Soviet action, but none of the neutralist countries has the strength to oppose Russia. Neutralist and world opinion won't help us and it won't hurt us. But our own failure to act as a great nation will certainly destroy us if we continue on our present course long enough.

If we preserve the United States, we will preserve the free world, and the neutralist nations as well. If we permit timidity and fear and the ideological beliefs of other nations to dictate our foreign policy, Communist victory is inevitable. And if we continue to dissipate our material wealth and economic strength in hundreds of unimportant places, instead of concentrating on the real enemy in the Kremlin, we shall lack the power as well as the will to stand up to Khrushchev.

Time has run out. We must act now. Not next year or next month but now. The United States must abandon its wavering, excuse-making, mawkish policy dictated by countries too small or too fearful to stand up and be counted. The time for President Kennedy to adopt an American policy is now.

Should the United Nations Seat the World's Leading Dope Peddler?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Free Front, a journal published in Asia by the free countries there as they seek to acquaint the world with the activities of Red China as they are seen firsthand. The author, Father Raymond J. de Jaegher, is a distinguished Belgian priest who served heroically in China until driven out by the Communists. He carries on from the Republic of Vietnam the fight against the Communist world conspiracy, the greatest enemy of mankind that all history has known:

[From Free Front, May 1961]

RED CHINA'S OPIUM OFFENSIVE

(By Raymond J. de Jaegher)

The world needs about 250 tons of opium annually for medical use, but in 1960 Red China exported 7,000 tons of opium and its refined products. According to Chinese circles in Hong Kong, the great center of opium trade in the world, export of opium by the Chinese Reds has had a tremendous increase during these last years.

Red China's export of opium was 3,600 tons in 1950, 4,300 tons in 1951, 4,600 tons in 1952; 1953 showed 4,800 tons; 1954, 5,100 tons; 1955, 5,500 tons; 1956, 5,700 tons; 1957, 5,900 tons; and 1958, 6,200 tons. Those large quantities of opium smuggled into the world are bringing high profits to subsidize Communist Parties all over the world.

The use of opium is very old, but the large-scale use and production of opium as a systematic production and distribution of narcotic drugs by the Chinese Reds as an organized government monopoly is a communistic invention. No other item of international trade yields a fraction of the revenues which flow into Mao Tse-tung's treasury from the opium traffic. Narcotics experts in the U.N. estimate the gross income of the Peking Government of Red China at more than a billion U.S. dollars a year.

FOREIGN MUD

As first used medicinally in China opium was no serious social problem—with the exception of the unaccounted for deaths from overdosage—until Manchu Emperor Khang Hsi from the North conquered Amoy, in Fukien Province, and the island of Formosa in 1683, his soldiers learned the "delight" of opium smoking from the inhabitants there. Still it was not a serious menace to Chinese civilization until European traders began their work of exploitation.

Portuguese traders from the footholds in India were the first of these Western traffickers; their initial freight of 200 chests in 1729 increased fivefold within the ensuing 40 years. Increasing use of the drug created a widening demand for it among the Chinese and eventually the wall of Chinese isolation was broken through by the British who secured the open-door policy for the trade. The British-chartered East India Co., and its successors (1800-1874) sold freely to Chinese merchants. By 1796—a short 60 years—the welfare of the Chinese people was seriously menaced by what a century before had been considered "a minor article of domestic commerce." Emperor Yung Chen was the first of the Chinese Emperors to issue an edict against the habit-forming smoke. His proclamation, initiating a series of laws against opium, said nothing, however, about the steady tide of opium flooding China from foreign ports. Finally, in 1800, the problem waxed grave in China, and the importation and the cultivation of the opium poppy were prohibited. In spite of the laws, the opium trade continued, growing unabated.

THE OPIUM WAR

In the early days of the 18th century the British, following the venturesome Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish had established a trading base at Canton where they soon outstripped in activity their European competitors. From the beginning and, in fact until the treaty of Nanking, 1842, the trade of the British, together with that of other Europeans, was restricted by regulations devised by the Chinese to keep the foreigners at arm's length, yet permitting the Chinese to continue to export their teas and silks and to receive desired English goods. The export of Chinese commodities far exceeded the imports of British goods and this resulted in an adverse cash balance to the British traders. Initially these debits had been discharged by silver payments, but by the close of the 18th century there was found a new commodity that balanced the books and ultimately provoked a war. That war commodity was opium. The East India Co. had exercised a controlling government-sponsored monopoly of all British-Asiatic trade since the early 1600's. The cultivation of opium in India was included in this monopoly. The entire Indian crop was sold to independent merchants at the famous Calcutta auctions. In turn, these firms shipped opium to China coasts where, with the aid of dishonest Chinese officials, it was smuggled into the country. This illicit opium traffic, it has been estimated, was several times as great as all the legal trade combined. The British imported into China through legal channels cotton and woolen goods worth approximately \$3 million. British interests, however, were exporting from China almost five

times that amount in tea and silk and, in addition to and despite this adverse trade balance, were actually exporting Chinese silver, whereas normally they should have been importing it to pay the trade balance between their exports and imports. By what device was this accomplished? The opium traffic provided the means.

Under the aegis of the East India Co. the independent trading companies would export a few million dollars of tea and import many times that amount in opium, thus acquiring large silver balances in their favor. These firms then gave to the East India Co. the use of these balances and in return received payment in London. Thus, because the trade balance was tilted in their favor by the opium revenue, British interests were enabled to export considerable silver from China.

The East India Co. had obtained virtually a world monopoly of opium due to their control of its cultivation in India, and the funds derived from the yearly auctions at Calcutta comprised a very large and important part of Indian state revenues. This government-granted monopoly was thus the source of vicious trade traffic, which the Crown could have effectively delimited, had it so desired, by limiting cultivation in India and prohibiting export. This course, however, would have seriously impaired Indian revenues.

Lin Tsé-hsu, an honest Chinese official, was appointed by the Emperor governor-general in Canton because the Emperor received no income from the illegal traffic in Indian opium and also because too much silver was leaving the country.

Lin's arrival at Canton in 1839 issued an edict which required that all opium stocks be surrendered within 3 days and restricted all future imports of opium, and if any imported, death penalty would be enforced. Captain Elliot, the chief superintendent of British colony, surrendered the opium with the promise that the British Government would indemnify the Chinese merchants for their loss. The opium was turned over and destroyed. This act, of itself, undeniably constituted complete and full recognition by the British Government of the illegality of the opium traffic.

Palmerston, the British Foreign Minister, under the tutelage of William Jardine, the greatest and most influential of the opium smugglers, expressed a desire that the China market remain open and that he was prepared to employ force to accomplish it. Palmerston never told the British people about the seizure of opium by the Chinese, but the British went to war, defeated easily the Chinese at that time and on August 29, 1842, in the Treaty of Nanking five treaty ports, Shanghai, Canton, Foochow, Amoy, and Ningpo, were opened to free trade and Hong Kong was ceded to England.

China was opened to free commerce, and the opium traffic continued to flourish because of its tremendous benefit to Indian revenues. Within 10 years after the war its volume increased almost threefold, and until the traffic was finally terminated by an agreement on May 8, 1911, it continued to be an important source of revenue.

American firms also participated in the opium traffic business and one-fifth of the opium entering Shanghai was carried by American ships.

JAPANESE TOOL OF WAR

Opium has become an effective and subtle tool of war and Japan used that tool long before World War II, when Japan was preparing the invasion of China. The drug was to undermine the Chinese people and to provide Chinese agents for the Japanese on the mainland of China. In the big cities of China, like in the small villages, the drug, mostly heroin, could be bought. During the Japanese occupation, huge quan-

tities of Iranian opium arrived in China through Shanghai for the Japanese Army. This was in 1938. The explanation the Japanese gave for the importation was that the opium was being shipped into China for use by a large heroin factory at Shanghai. In Nanking four groups were chiefly responsible for opium circulation: the Special Service Section of the Japanese Army—the so-called reform government of Nanking (puppet government of Wang Ching-wei) independent Japanese and Korean drug runners—the Japanese firms. In 1938, one-eighth of the Chinese in Nanking were slowly being poisoned by drugs.

The Japanese did much to insure the merchandising of drugs. Well-lighted and attractive clinics were opened. Some of them displayed a deceptive red cross. Illuminated street signs led victims from the highways, byways and side streets to the opium stores and dens. Newspaper advertisements told of the various diseases the drug would allegedly cure. Patients entering a clinic were given a cursory examination by a quack doctor or drug dispenser and then were listed as sufferers of some disease the cure for which was drugs. Thereafter, as often as they wanted it, heroin or morphine was sold to the patients and in amounts unlimited.

RED CHINA OPIUM BUSINESS

A report from the U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs dated March 10, 1952, is showing that now it is not Japan responsible for smuggling opium in China, but it is Red China now smuggling opium and heroin from China into Japan, the United States and other countries. Again the policy of trying to weaken an enemy by subsidizing addiction was at work.

This time the objective was the free people of the world, especially the people fighting against communism.

The major illicit sources of the world's narcotic supply are first of all Red China, then Burma, Malaya, India, Japan, Turkey, Thailand, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Italy, and Mexico.

Since 1948 Italian heroin has been smuggled into the United States, but it is Red China and the Chinese Communists who are exploiting the poppy, who are financing and fostering aggressive warfare through depravity and human misery.

The main export routes are: Mukden to South Korea and Japan; Hong Kong and Macao to the Philippines and the United States; Kunming to Burma, Siam, India, Malaya, Laos, Singapore, and Indonesia.

Midway stations are well organized in Vientiane, Bangkok, Manila, Tokyo, and San Francisco.

The Chinese Red finance minister organized a subsidiary trade division under Yeh Chih Chuang and Wang Feng-chi, chief of Hopei Opium Prohibition Bureau prohibited the drug in Red China, but was in fact the actual person in charge of the export of opium and heroin from cities like Tientsin and Canton. Peiping on February 24, 1950, issued the circular order for the strict prohibition of opium inside Red China. In 1952 information which leaked out of a highly secret meeting in Peiping under Po I-Po indicates that the revenue obtained from its sales of narcotics abroad reached approximately U.S. \$70 million out of which \$30 million were sent to Red China and the remainder was spent for party activities outside Red China as well as information collection; that the largest outlet was southeast Asia countries, followed by Japan and the United States.

Richard L. G. Deverall wrote a book "Red China's Dirty Drug War," 220 pages, published in Tokyo in 1954, giving a lot of evidence of the large-scale opium business operated by Red China.

Early in 1954, 160 pounds of opium produced in Yunnan and Manchuria reportedly

arrived in Canton for transshipment to Hong Kong through Shuchun, to Macao through Chung-San and Po-un.

Details of the Chinese opium traffic are presented in a recent report from the United Nations Commission on Narcotics.

Experts attached to the Commission estimate that more than 5 million acres of land in starving China is now devoted exclusively to intensive cultivation of opium poppies.

Abroad everyone connected with the Communist dope traffic is charged with the daily responsibility and duty of recruiting new addicts.

Anslinger, U.S. delegate to the special U.N. conference on Red China's opium racket, documented for the Commission the case of a young Japanese seaman, Saito, who was not an addict, but signed on one of the ships of the Red Chinese dope fleet from Yokohama. During his first voyage Saito was tied hand and foot and forcibly given heroin injections until he manifested a craving for the drug. He soon became a confirmed addict.

Youngsters thus forced into addiction become ready servants of the Communist dope mobsters, eager for any criminal assignment or violence which will assure their daily narcotic requirements. By this technique, Red China has built up a ready army of criminals in all the principal port cities of the world.

Despite intensified police work throughout the United States, new addicts are found daily in every major city of the United States, chiefly because Communist sources send in constant dope supplies.

All the documents examined by the United Nations coming from all governments in that area point to the fact that Communist China is the major source of supply of narcotics for the entire world (p. 202).

New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., Illinois, and all of California were cited by Anslinger as the principal retail dope markets in the United States. In 1 recent year, Los Angeles accounted for 7,000 narcotics arrests out of a total of 24,000 for the entire United States.

New York City has now increased its police narcotics squad to 200 men.

A CALCULATED SCHEME

In California, after months of intensive investigation, which took a lot of money and very dangerous undercover work, we came up with a group of Chinese who had been smuggling from Communist China. They had a direct connection with Hong Kong. A fellow in Hong Kong by the name of Judah Isaac Ezra, whom we had sent to the penitentiary years ago, had connections inside China, and was taking care of most of the traffic into the United States (p. 182).

For several years I have presented documented facts which establish that narcotic trafficking from the China mainland is an insidious, calculated scheme of the Chinese Communist régime to obtain operating funds and at the same time spread debauchery of narcotic addiction among free nations. Anslinger's report to the U.N. continued: "In most instances the heroin was brought into the country concealed on the persons of seamen. Ornately carved camphorwood hats with specially built compartments were also used for the smuggling operations."

Looking through the history of opium, we have seen that the British East India Co. was selling opium as a private company operating with public charter. The opium-pushing activities of the Japanese Imperial Army was a part of the planning of a military group in Korea, Manchuria, and China. The Japanese army clique was just a clique, it was not the government. Red China is doing the opium business, not privately, or by a group, but as a government business and as matter of calculated policy promoting sales of opium and heroin in foreign countries while suppressing it at home, to help

the finances of the government by foreign trade.

The narcotics traffic serves international communism in two very practical ways. It provides tremendous dollar and sterling exchange, pools all around the world; secondly, the traffic is a fiendish weapon of sabotage against the free world, for every new addict impairs and undermines in some degree the total productive power of the victim nations.

Investigations reveal that roughly one-third of all cash receipts throughout the free world are left in the country to finance Communist organizations. Another third of the profits in each country goes to the Red Chinese Army, which protects and delivers shipside all over oversea dope packages. The final third goes to the special trade trust for promotion and expansion of the demoralizing trade.

SHOULD RED CHINA ENTER THE U.N.?

Should the United Nations vote to admit the world's biggest dope peddler? Membership of the U.N. would give Red China lawful activities a great chance to smuggle all over the world, officially through routine trade missions to every major city in the United States, Latin America, and Western Europe.

We should fight against those, like Mao Tse-tung, who are willing to build Red China with all means—legal or illegal and even immoral ones.

In Red China the people are now starving from the worst famine in Chinese history—but still 5 million acres of land in starving China are devoted to intensive opium cultivation, the Chinese people are enslaved and during this worst period in Chinese history on account of the Communists—the free world would recognize Red China as a peace-loving country—this really would be the limit and would discourage the people of China. It's not so much a natural calamity than the refusal of the Chinese people to accept communism, that's the real cause of famine in China. China has to pay for the massive Soviet industrial and economic aid to Red China and this aid is repaid by raw materials, foodstuffs, tea, gold, and American dollars from the opium and heroin of Red China sold outside of Red China.

So long as the Communists control the mainland of China, Asia and the free world cannot have peace; peaceful coexistence with Red China and Soviet Russia is impossible. Knowing well the Communists, we must make our choice, and help to build up a free world, but to build up this free world we need a mainland of China free of communism.

Take the Guesswork Out of Air Crashes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, last week 78 persons were killed when a commercial airliner crashed just a few minutes after taking off from Chicago's Midway Airport. This was the worst plane crash in Chicago's history.

During this past weekend another airplane crashed shortly after taking off from Shannon, Ireland, killing another 80 people.

Two of Chicago's outstanding newspapers, the Chicago Sun-Times and the Chicago Tribune, have spoken out in support of legislation which I have introduced which would require all commer-

cial airliners to carry a recording device in a shock-proof, heat-proof container installed in the cabin of the aircraft with an open microphone constantly recording all conversations in the cockpit of the aircraft.

I introduced this legislation more than 2 years ago with the sincere hope that we would be able to eliminate a good part of the agonizing speculation which follows every major air disaster by having a record of the pilot's efforts to save his plane during the last tragic moments before a crash. I am convinced this information from the pilot would provide vital information to establish the cause of a disaster.

The Federal Aviation Agency has advised Congress that it already has the authority to order installation of such recording devices.

The Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency, Najeeb Halaby, told a press conference in Chicago last week there are technical problems involved in the installation of such devices. I have the highest degree of confidence in Mr. Halaby and am sure that if he will order an urgent program for the development of this equipment, such equipment can be perfected very quickly. I hope there will be no further delay in ordering these recorders installed in commercial airliners.

These recorders in themselves could not have avoided the two most recent crashes, but certainly had they been ordered installed at the time I introduced the original legislation, we would be in a much better position today to evaluate the causes of these crashes and take appropriate action to prevent similar tragedies in the future.

It is inconceivable to me that there would be any further delay in the installation of this equipment. The Airline Pilots Association favors such an order; in my discussions with operators of commercial airlines I have found no one who has raised any serious objections; and the Federal Aviation Agency itself has been working on this project for more than 2 years now.

I am confident that with all the technological gains we have made in practically every field of human endeavor, we should have no problem perfecting a device that will do this job effectively and will at least give us a better idea of what is the cause of these crashes.

I hope the FAA Administrator will order the installation of these devices forthwith; and in support of my contention, I include in the RECORD today two excellent editorials. The first appeared in the Chicago Sun-Times on September 2; the second appeared in the Chicago Tribune on September 9.

I hope there will be no further delay in carrying out this project.

The articles follow:

[From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 9, 1961]

THE MISSING CLUE

Unofficial reports from the men investigating last week's airplane disaster seem to confirm the belief that there was a structural failure and that part of the tail assembly, including a rudder, broke away just before the plane crashed. This would explain why this section was found, relatively undamaged, about a quarter of a mile to the

rear of where the rest of the plane first hit the ground.

Weakening of the tail assembly, it is theorized, would have interfered with and perhaps destroyed the pilot's control of the plane. This might explain the sharp right turn which the plane made just before crashing. The captain may have called on the copilot for help, thus explaining why no radio call was made. Then, as part of the tail broke off, the rest of the plane would have been thrown into an uncontrollable dive.

If the investigators could be sure that this was what happened, they could promptly rule out other theories and concentrate on why the metal gave way. They would be done with their job sooner, their conclusions would probably carry more conviction than otherwise, and their recommendations would be that much more likely to prevent a recurrence. It would help them immeasurably to know what was said in the cockpit just before the crash.

The same could be said of previous crashes in which, for one reason or another, no hint of trouble was given by radio.

Nearly 2 years ago, after an earlier and inadequately explained crash, we suggested that a tape recorder might provide much necessary information. Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI, of Chicago, has asked Congress to require airlines to install one in the cockpit, where it would run constantly while the plane is in flight.

The record need only cover a few minutes; older sounds and voices could be automatically erased as later ones are recorded. The tape would have to be in a shockproof and fireproof container, but the evidence it provided would save time and uncertainty during investigations and would very likely save lives. It should be worth the relatively insignificant cost of the equipment.

[From the Chicago Sun-Times, Sept. 2, 1961]

CHICAGO'S WORST AIR DISASTER

The worst plane crash in Chicago's history, and the worst in U.S. commercial aviation involving a single plane, killed 78 persons early yesterday only minutes after take-off from Midway Airport. Especially poignant, entire families on gay vacations with their children were among the victims.

With the rest of the community, we join in mourning the losses which have been suffered by so many loved ones and friends of those aboard the craft.

At this writing, the cause of the disaster is not known. A passenger on an earlier leg of the cross-country flight, who disembarked at Chicago, has told of hearing a strange noise and feeling unusual vibration during the flight here. The FBI is investigating the possibility that a bomb was responsible. Witnesses said they saw a "blinding flash" as the plane circled before falling.

A regular procedure is to reconstruct the plane from the wreckage in an effort to determine what structural failure or operational difficulty was responsible for the tragedy. This is a long-drawn process and offers no certain prospect that the cause of the crash will ever be found.

U.S. Representative ROMAN PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, has proposed that all planes be equipped with automatic tape recording devices, in crashproof, sealed containers, that would preserve the last 5 minutes of a pilot's and a copilot's conversation. It would continually erase earlier conversation.

Thus, after a crash, investigators would have the testimony of the nature of the trouble from the best possible source, the men flying the plane. Plane-to-ground radio does not assure any such message. Contact can be lost in a storm, or the radio can be destroyed in a fire.

Such recording devices exist and the Federal Aviation Agency has authority to install

them. We understand that an order for them to be put in use was to have been issued earlier this year but got sidetracked. There should be no further delay on this.

With airliners steadily increasing in size and passenger capacity, everything possible should be done to prevent disasters such as yesterday's. Determining the cause of crashes is part of prevention. The tape idea should at least be tried.

Appeasement at Work

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. DEROUMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is small wonder we are losing the cold war when President Kennedy is so confused about how to handle tyrant Khrushchev. The story of Neville Chamberlain should have taught him by now.

The following article by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, which appeared in the Long Island Press on September 8, shows in detail our President's indecision:

Two Sets of Advisers Pull at J.F.K.

(By Edgar Ansel Mowrer)

John F. Kennedy reminds me in one respect (only one, please note) of Huckleberry Finn's dad, as described by Huck's friend, Jim, after consulting a hairball "which had been took out of the fourth stomach of an ox":

"Yo' ole father doan' know yit what he's a-gwyne to do. Dey's two angels hoverin' about him. One of em is white and shiny, en t' other one is black. De white one gits him to go right a little while, den de black one sail in en bust it all up. A body can't tell yit which one is goin' to fetch him at de las'."

I refer of course to the two sorts of advisers of J.F.K. has "hoverin'" about him." One set urge him to concentrate on defending and enlarging freedom—winning the cold war. This came out in his admirable inaugural when he said:

"In the long history of the world, few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it."

But the other set (the reader can decide for himself whether black or white) concentrates on relaxing tensions. To them the Communist threat is secondary, or at least, temporary. The effect of their advice came out recently, when in briefing newsmen, the President omitted any reference to communism or freedom in outlining the three main problems of our generation. These were, he said (1) the emergence of the new nations; (2) the impact of the new technology; and (3) the threat of nuclear weapons.

President Kennedy would obviously like to defend freedom and to relax tensions through pleasing the new nations, raising standards and arms control. But in the effort to do both simultaneously, he is being successful in neither.

Here are some instances: He has not kept Laos on our side and South Vietnam is being seriously threatened by communism.

Intervention in Cuba to restore freedom was crippled fatally by the President's fear of displeasing the neutrals or provoking the U.S.S.R.

He stated his intention of maintaining our position in Berlin and then tamely per-

mitted East German soldiers to enter and put up a wall through that city—both illegal. His advisers are still seeking points on which we could yield at the forthcoming quite unnecessary negotiations.

Such examples seem to show that defending freedom and relaxing tensions are basically incompatible. In striving for both—to defeat Nikita while seeking the approval of Ghana, Indonesia, etc., J.F.K. is doing neither very well. Nikita still indulges in the rankest power politics (Stalin asked, how many divisions has the Pope?) while the nonaligned nations favor aggressive Russia against pacifist America. There has been no progress toward arms control.

So, the question today is less what Khrushchev will do next, than when our President will decide between winning the cold war and a futile search for accommodation. In short, when will he choose between the white angel and the black angel—called advisers—"hovelin' about him"? On that day only we Americans will know "which one is 'goin' to fetch him at de las"—and incidentally fetch the entire free world along with him.

Welfare Outruns Growth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. HARVEY of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include an editorial from the Washington Post of September 10 in the Appendix of the RECORD.

When a paper as liberal as the Post thinks our welfare programs are out of proportion, then we are really in trouble:

WELFARE OUTRUNS GROWTH

The administration has promised more rapid economic growth. At the same time it has argued the case for higher welfare expenditures. When the President presented his program last winter, proposals for growth and for welfare seemed to be fairly evenly balanced. What has become of this balance at the hands of Congress?

It is sadly apparent that growth has fared a lot worse than has welfare. Not all programs and laws, to be sure, fit neatly into this classification. But it is remarkable how many of them do, and the count is not cheering. The President's program contained two major growth proposals. One was the tax reform, centering upon an investment credit. This would have encouraged an increase in plant and equipment expenditures for modernization and expansion. The Congress first reduced the size of this credit, and eventually put the entire legislation over until next year. The other was the series of bills to aid education. Investment in education has been ranked as probably the most important long-run stimulus to growth by the Eckstein Report prepared in 1959 for the Joint Economic Committee. Aid to education largely if not totally failed of enactment. This is particularly deplorable because investment in human beings takes a long time to mature. Even if something substantial is enacted next year, some young people will have suffered an irretrievable loss. The vocational training bill meanwhile has also been defeated.

Other new proposals involving growth fortunately have done better. The depressed areas program, as well as modest increases in the highway program and in national

resources development, will help growth. Legislation on water pollution will improve community facilities, as will airport grants, assuming the bill passes. Expenditures for space exploration should provide some spill over of research into the earthbound sector of the economy. Most of these items, however, are quantitatively not very important.

In terms of money, the enlarged housing program is probably much the largest of the new growth expenditures. But housing generates less GNP, per dollar of capital invested, than almost any other investment expenditure. Housing expenditures are growth oriented, but less effectively so than most others.

The list of welfare measures is more impressive. Some of these were made necessary by the recession, such as temporary unemployment compensation and aid to dependent children. Others were unrelated to the recession, such as enhanced social security benefits, aid to agriculture, and the Minimum Wage law. Of major welfare proposals, only enlarged medical aid to the aged has failed of enactment.

It is clear that the Nation cannot do everything at once. Particularly at a time of sharply rising military expenditures, some other desirable items can and should be postponed. But this year's legislative experience suggest that welfare programs may have greater political appeal and smoother political sailing than growth programs. If that is the case, the administration may find it advisable to weigh next year's proposals more decisively in favor of growth, in the expectation that they will suffer attrition as they go through the political process.

Of Costly Pearls and Old-Age Survivors Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES E. BROMWELL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. BROMWELL. Mr. Speaker, we were reminded last Friday of Valentine Byler of New Wilmington, Pa. Members will recall Mr. Byler as the Amish farmer who earlier this year lost some horses by distraint because he had failed and refused to pay his social security taxes. On last Friday, September 8, it was reported that Commissioner Caplin of the Internal Revenue Service had invited a group of Amish bishops to meet him here in Washington tomorrow to discuss problems of collection of social security taxes on self-employed persons.

In this Congress we have H.R. 7268, introduced by the gentleman from Indiana [Mr. BRUCE], which provides an exemption from participation in the Federal old-age and survivors' insurance program for individuals where religious doctrines forbid such participation. This bill would resolve a painful conflict between God and country for this faithful and gentle people. Nothing has been done with it. I realize that there are not enough votes to be squeezed out of this issue to change the color of political litmus paper, but I hope it succeeds, as have many other measures in this House, for freedom's sake.

Just a year ago an editorial appeared in *Liberty*, the periodical of the International Religious Liberty Association,

which was addressed to this issue. I offer it now as a reminder of H.R. 7268, and of the visit of the bishops to Washington tomorrow.

OF COSTLY PEARLS AND OLD-AGE SURVIVORS INSURANCE

Eighteen bishops of the Old Order Amish Mennonites from 13 States have signed a petition to Congress asking for legislation that would excuse members of their sect from participating in the social security program on grounds of religious objection. Pointing out that the U.S. Constitution provides safeguards for freedom, the Amish declare that "the Social Security Act is abridging our faith, which is older than this Government. We feel justified to do all in our power to defend and protect these costly pearls [of religious freedom] and not trade them for an old-age survivors insurance."

There would seem little ground to doubt the sincerity of the Amish. They hold that all charity should be administered by the church, and back up their words by taking care of their sick and aged members through contributions levied by the deacons of each church district. Their performance should also dispel fears that their needy may become a drain upon a fund to which they have not contributed.

For what reason, then, should they be forced to violate their consciences? For the sake of conformity? One should hope that the spirit of American individualism is not yet dead. To avoid a precedent that would disrupt the social security program? One can safely aver that not many moderns will trade in their automatic-gadgeted autos for an Amish buggy, nor put aside their Dior copies or Ivy League sport coats for the garb of the Mennonite sect—not for the sake of saving a few dollars in social security payments.

No; the millions will go right on receiving their doles, and the Amish growth chart will show no dramatic upturn. There is no precedent here that would jeopardize the social security program of the United States. But if the petition of the Amish is not honored, if individual conscience is to be traded for collective old-age and survivors' insurance benefits, it may well be that when lost pearls are sought on some great day of reckoning ahead, the transaction will be seen to have cost altogether too much.

R.R.H.

No Aid for Neutrals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in a letter Mr. Carl L. Shipley, chairman of the Republican State Committee for the District of Columbia, demands an end to the billions of dollars of aid that have been and will be given by the Kennedy administration to those foreign nations which have the gall to call themselves "nonaligned, neutral, and uncommitted."

The time has come to unmask and put an end to this double-dealing, the practice of which has been allowed to grow under the regime of the Modern Republicans as well as the New Deal and New Frontier Democrats.

Following are the views of Mr. Shipley in which I concur completely:

The somber reports from the unaligned nations conference at Belgrade should en-

lighten our fuzzy-thinkers at the U.N. and the State Department on the evils of neutralism.

The so-called uncommitted nations are simply pro-Communists camouflaged in another bird's plumage. The billions of dollars of foreign aid and military assistance we have lavished on Yugoslavia's Tito, India's Nehru, Ghana's Nkrumah, and Indonesia's Sukarno, to say nothing of Laos and Brazil, is largely an exercise in cutting our own throat. Neutralism shows a pro-Communist double standard.

The 25 neutralist nations at the Belgrade Conference have failed to denounce Russia for resuming nuclear tests in the atmosphere or for negotiating in bad faith these past 3 years at the Geneva Conference on nuclear tests, all the while developing new atomic weapons to be tested when ready. But they did engage in an unrelieved attack on the United States and all that we have done for the cause of freedom.

Henceforth the United States must adopt a new policy on foreign aid. Generous aid and military assistance for our allies and friends, yes, for neutralists, no. It is now clear that every dollar of foreign aid that goes from the United States to a neutralist is a contribution to our own doom.

The Kennedy administration should characterize neutralism for what it in reality is—anti-American and pro-Russian, through and through. If our Government continues to grovel before the neutralists after the Belgrade performance, the injury they do us will be richly deserved.

It is folly for our Government to recognize neutralism as a legitimate position. It assumes there is a logical, moral, ethical, and legal basis for choice between capitalism and communism, between religious conviction and godlessness, between free enterprise and socialism, between freedom and totalitarianism, between right and wrong. We should not lend dignity to the neutralists by cloaking them with respectability.

Any nation that cannot forthwith make a rational and deliberate choice between the United States and Russia is no friend of ours. Indeed, any nation that is so confused or immature that it must pause on the threshold of such a choice is too weak a reed for us to bother with. At best such nations will fall us in the final showdown; at worst, they will betray us all along the way.

We can well recall the words of Theodore Roosevelt that "it is a wicked thing to be neutral between right and wrong. Impartiality does not mean neutrality. Impartial justice consists not in being neutral between right and wrong, but in finding out the right and upholding it wherever found, against the wrong."

Help Khrushchev Avoid a Dangerous Mistake

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES B. HOEVEN
OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. HOEVEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include, herewith, an article which appeared in the September 16, 1961, issue of *Nation's Business*:

HELP KHRUSHCHEV AVOID A DANGEROUS MISTAKE

As the moment of truth in Berlin comes nearer, the American people are solidly with the President in facing up to Russia. They

have accepted willingly—perhaps eagerly—whatever peril or sacrifice a firm position in this crisis requires.

They will, as the President predicted, bear "the burdens which must be borne if freedom is to be defended. Americans have willingly borne them before and they will not flinch now."

The world will be spared much misery if our enemies accept this presidential analysis as accurate. The danger is that, like others before them, the Communists may make what Mr. Kennedy has called "the dangerous mistake of assuming that the West was too selfish and too soft and too divided to resist invasions of freedom in other lands."

Unfortunately, this dangerous mistake is not unreasonable. Anyone might make it after listening from a distance as Washington catalogs the urgent needs that our people are reportedly unable to meet for themselves.

Such a listener could justifiably believe that, without Government prodding and support, Americans were too flabby to educate their children, build proper houses, clean up their cities, care for their aged, or show compassion for the unfortunate. He could believe that even our diversions are so decadent that a Cabinet officer must concern himself officially with the hiring practices of a professional football team and a Government agency must bring Federal standards to our television shows.

As reported from Washington, the American people are poorly educated, ill housed, out of work, badly entertained and facing a bleak old age. This is hardly a picture to deter a determined aggressor.

In the interests of peace and a true picture of American fiber we should tell our foes about Indianapolis, where the people have long met their own problems without Federal subsidy; of Davenport, Iowa, which is on record as opposing Federal money for schools; of Carlsbad, N. Mex., where the school board has stated it wants no Federal intervention in local schools and the city council has refused to ask \$500,000 in Federal funds for a sewer system;

Of Italy, Tex., which preferred to rebuild itself rather than accept Federal funds after a tornado, and a lengthening honor roll of other localities which stand ready to resist invasions of freedom, not only from foreign governments but from their own as well.

Our President can make his warning to Mr. Khrushchev more convincing by pointing out that we can have whatever defense we need, along with sound money, and a stronger economy simply by restricting the Federal Government to its essential duties.

This isn't even austerity. It's merely commonsense.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following newsletter of September 9, 1961.

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman BRUCE ALGER, Fifth District, Texas)

SEPTEMBER 9, 1961.

As predicted in my newsletter of August 19 a greatly amended foreign aid authorization bill was sent back to the House from conference and was approved on August 31, 260 to 132. The final bill authorized appro-

priations of \$4,253,500,000 for foreign economic and military aid in fiscal 1962 and \$1.5 billion in each of the following 4 years for Development Loan Fund long-term, low interest development loans. The bill also authorized the President to establish a new foreign aid agency. The final bill did not include the long-term borrowing authority requested by the President. He had asked for authority to borrow \$8.8 billion from the Treasury for the Development Loan Fund over a 5-year period fiscal 1962-66 to finance long-term, low interest development loans. The final bill authorized \$1.2 billion for fiscal 1962 and \$1.5 billion a year for fiscal 1963-66, making \$7.2 billion available for development loans over the 5 years but required annual appropriation of funds (at least a partial victory for those of us in the House who fought the transfer of responsibility for appropriations from Congress to the Executive).

The foreign aid appropriation bill was whipped through the House in 1 day, September 5, by a record vote, 270-123. The bill as approved appropriated \$3,357,500,000 for foreign aid, \$896 million less than carried in the authorization bill, but \$300 million more than recommended by the House Appropriations Committee.

One of my principal objections to foreign aid is the money we give to our enemies and so-called neutral nations. This objection was supported during the debate on the foreign aid bill by Congressman GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB, of California, who pointed out that the dollars of U.S. taxpayers are being sent to Cuba to bolster the Communist regime of Fidel Castro. Congressman LIPSCOMB, a member of the House Appropriations Committee, pointed to the report on the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill. He said each year the President requests millions of dollars to cover U.S. contributions to international organizations. In just one instance, LIPSCOMB pointed out, the Pan American Health Organization is providing 32 Russian jeeps for a malaria eradication program in Cuba. Although malaria has a low incidence rate there, the eradication allotment in 1961 is \$79,766, or 20 times the amount budgeted in 1958—before Fidel Castro came to power. This has been augmented by a \$99,000 allotment from the World Health Organization Malaria Eradication Special Account, for the purpose of providing the Soviet jeeps to Cuba. The American taxpayer pays 66 percent of the cost of the so-called health plan for Cuba instigated by PAHO.

UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL FUND

LIPSCOMB reminded Congress that this Fund, to which the United States contributes 40 percent, on May 24 granted \$1,157,600 to aid agricultural research programs in Cuba. U.S. contributions for the fiscal year 1961, both assessed and voluntary, amounted to \$241,799,522 to over 50 international organizations and their related activities. According to Congressman LIPSCOMB, it appears that very few, if anyone, have ever attempted to figure out where this money actually goes, and actually what it is used for.

Add to these startling statements of how the U.S. taxpayer is contributing to countries dedicated to our destruction, the utter contempt for the United States and our ideals expressed by the delegates to the Conference of Uncommitted Nations at Belgrade last week, and the course we are taking to our own national suicide (newsletter of Aug. 26) becomes more apparent. The nations present at the Belgrade Conference have been the recipients of \$7.2 billion from the American taxpayers. Yet not one voice was raised in behalf of American policies. Not a single delegate protested a vicious attack on the United States by the Communist delegate from Cuba. On the other hand, no official action was taken by the Conference to

condemn the Soviet Union for its wanton disregard of humanity for its devious use of 3 years of useless negotiations on banning nuclear testing to build up its own arsenal and then arrogantly begin testing within hours of an announcement that it would. No protests from the uncommitted nations for the enslavement of 17 million human beings in East Germany. While India's Nehru piously asks the United States to negotiate with the Communists on issues which are not negotiable, he utters not a word of protest at the brutal and barbaric invasion of Tibet and the inhuman atrocities practiced on her people by the Communists.

It's time we faced facts. The uncommitted nations are not uncommitted, nor are they neutral. For whatever reason, fear or self-interest, they are aligned with Soviet Russia and when the chips are down, in the final contest between freedom and Communist slavery, they will be against us unless they are convinced that we are stronger and will win the battle. There are no moral grounds for neutralism in a fight to the death. Those countries which give aid and comfort to our enemy also become our enemies. My own position is opposed to foreign aid until it is used in the self-interest of the United States.

Steel Companies Are the Whipping Boys

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OR

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

MR. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, today's article by David Lawrence in the New York Herald Tribune brings into focus the calculated plans of President Kennedy and his administration to make successful businessmen the whipping boys from now on. It is hard to believe that Secretary of Labor Goldberg can be very neutral; he dare not bite the hand that fed him so well for so many years:

STEEL PRICE CURBS VIEWED AS ROAD TO COMMUNISM

(By David Lawrence)

WASHINGTON.—The Kennedy administration has crossed the Rubicon. It has decided to make war on conservative economics and embark on a course of radical economics. It is ignoring the risk that it may plunge the country into more unemployment within the next 18 months and bring about perhaps the worst recession since the 1930's.

For President Kennedy has determined to put certain limits on business profits and the return on investments that stockholders have hitherto expected when putting their savings into private enterprise. The net result could be the gradual collapse of the private enterprise system in America and the beginning of that era of socialism which Nikita Khrushchev has predicted will inevitably lead to communism in another generation in the United States.

President Kennedy's crucial step came a few days ago when he openly threatened the steel industry with reprisals by Government unless it agreed to forgo any price increases at this time. Mr. Kennedy vaguely promised that next year, when the unions ask for still higher wages, he would urge "moderation." He didn't define the term. But the entire business world noted that Mr. Kennedy

significantly refused to ask the unions at this time to forgo the additional wage increases scheduled for them at the end of this month under a contract signed early in 1960 after a long strike.

The steel industry thus far has absorbed a 10-percent rise in labor costs since 1958 without a price increase. Fairplay would seem to require that, since the steel industry has already absorbed this large increase in wages without a price rise, the least that Mr. Kennedy might have done was to ask labor to cancel its increase scheduled for October 1 this year.

COMPARISON IS MADE

But the Kennedy administration has sitting in the Cabinet, as Secretary of Labor, the man who was general counsel of the biggest steel union in the country. Had there been a Secretary of Commerce in a Republican administration who had previously been a leader in the steel industry—either as president of a large company or as its principal negotiator just a few months earlier during a major strike—the howl that would have gone up about "conflict of interest" would have been heard from coast to coast.

Industry has no voice in the Kennedy Cabinet. The Secretary of Commerce is afraid of his shadow and allowed himself to be influenced by the radicals in the administration when he ordered the virtual suppression of the Business Advisory Council which had existed for decades as a means of communication between business and the executive branch of the Government.

President Kennedy's procedure in writing a letter to 12 steel companies and in immediately making it public is the subject of sharp criticism. He did not invite these steel executives to come to Washington before hand to give their side of the issue. He took them by surprise as he issued his letter and threatened restrictive measures if they didn't obey.

This is one of the most surprising moves any President has made in recent years, and it is small wonder that it is being regarded as the beginning of a series of hostile acts to throttle American enterprise and to pave the way for nationalization or socialization of the larger industries in America.

ADVISERS BLAMED

Mr. Kennedy himself has never been regarded as a radical, but he has surrounded himself with advisers who sincerely believe in Government ownership. In giving their advice, they can hardly refrain from advocating a philosophy which could eventually mean the end of private capitalism in America. Every one of these advisers hates communism and all that Mr. Khrushchev stands for, but, as is the case in Britain with the Socialist Laborites who favor nationalization of industry, they don't always realize the ultimate consequences of current action.

Mr. Kennedy is not himself an economist. He finds himself lost in economic jargon and economic arguments, and tends to follow what seems to him a plausible policy. His economic advisers concede that it is a "most hazardous undertaking" to estimate future output and profits in steel, but they did it just the same and took no account of the need of different companies to buy new plant and equipment or to continue to earn a proper return on investors' money. Instead, a blanket order was favored that would cut profit margins and let labor have its October 1 increase just the same.

Meanwhile, the Department of Justice is engaging in a crusade against large business enterprises by brandishing antitrust suits in their faces almost every day. It is interesting to note that the executives of the 12 companies which got the President's identical letter are virtually forbidden to discuss it with each other, since the subject is price-making. The steel companies could be hauled into court for price collusion if

they as much as sat down together to discuss what kind of replies they should make as an industry.

Indeed, the future of all trade associations in America may well be in jeopardy if the Kennedy administration cries out "price fixing" every time business leaders go to an annual convention of their industry to discuss common problems, including threats coming from foreign competition. The annual meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute had, for instance, long been scheduled for this week, but it was canceled for fear that any meeting of steel executives at this time would be misunderstood. And all this happens in "free" America.

Nuclear Attack Protection for Civilian Population Urged as War Deterrent

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

MR. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, mankind today lives in fear and dread, perhaps as never before in all time, in the stark contemplation of the holocausts of cities, if nuclear war should break over the world. Some people with deeply penetrating minds have dedicated themselves to finding the means to fortify ourselves for survival, against the possibilities of such cataclysm. There is the thought brought forward that the stronger we build the ways of survival the less likely an enemy will dare attack us.

I have received a thoughtful and discerning discussion in this area, from Mr. Kemp P. Yarborough, St. Marys City, Md. It is of such a nature as to deserve attention. Therefore, with the permission of the House, I am inserting this discussion in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Mr. Yarborough's letter follows:

ST. MARYS CITY, Md.
September 6, 1961.

HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. COOLEY: The Kennedy administration and the present Congress have shown their concern for the needs of civil defense by increased appropriations and by plans for greater protection against radioactive fallout. I am writing to submit for your consideration two aspects of this problem which I believe should receive attention in future civil defense legislation.

In the first place, is not protection against the heat and blast effects of nuclear weapons also imperative? Fallout shelters alone, it is true, would shield most of the population in case of a nuclear attack that would spare cities and concentrate upon the destruction of missile sites and long-range striking forces. Humanitarian considerations call for such a limitation on nuclear warfare; nor do military strategists discount the possibility of a limited nuclear conflict of this type. If for no other reason, a potential enemy might thus restrict the use of his nuclear force lest he invite retaliatory blows against his own cities and population. However, is it not possible that the development of a civil defense gap or other important difference in the offensive and defensive strength of the antagonist nations could create a situation in which an enemy would not deem it to his own interest to so

refrain, or would assume the risks of total nuclear conflict when total world victory would be the prize? While there is conflicting testimony as to the extent to which the Soviet Union has engaged in civil defense preparations, many authorities (including Leon Gouré of the Rand Corp.) believe that extensive preparations have been made. Premier Khrushchev claims that the Soviet civil defense organization enlists 22 million trained personnel. Their motivation may be entirely defensive; but a wide civil defense gap, once achieved, could weigh as a considerable factor in the political and military calculations of the Soviet leaders, both offensive and defensive, or could serve as the basis for blackmail threats of total war.

Red China has a population approaching the billion mark, most of whom are still widely dispersed in agrarian pursuits and hence less vulnerable to nuclear attack than industrialized populations. She is likely to become a nuclear power within a few years. Her leaders are more warminded than the Russians, and are apparently not deterred by the human cost among their own people in the pursuit of their objectives. If they are bent upon an eventual showdown with the United States, a weak posture of civil defense on the part of this country might induce them to initiate an unlimited nuclear war in which they would be willing to accept immense retaliatory blows and sacrifice vast numbers of their people. It is also possible that a limited or limited nuclear war might be transformed by the pressures and momentum of that conflict—especially as one side or the other faced disastrous reverses—into an unlimited nuclear one. Again, an atomic holocaust might be caused by error, accident or miscalculation, or through the agency of a small nation. The development of means of producing thermonuclear bombs relatively inexpensively, and thereby bringing them within the capacity of almost any nation, is a real possibility. Planning for civil defense should not be confined to the requirements of a limited nuclear struggle, or otherwise restricted, but should include preparations for as wide a range of foreseeable contingencies as possible.

Shelters against fallout only, if combined with plans for the evacuation of urban populations, might be adequate even for the contingency of an unlimited nuclear war, provided the commencement of hostilities should be preceded by a crisis of sufficient duration to permit evacuation, and provided the war should be limited to one nuclear strike phase which would determine the outcome. However, they would be inadequate against surprise or sudden nuclear attacks giving too little time for massive evacuation, or in a war of attrition in which the economic factor could be decisive. In the latter instance the destruction of the Nation's urban industrial structure might prove a heavy handicap, and its restoration or replacement in time to meet the exigencies of war might be rendered very difficult by subsequent and repeated nuclear attacks. The massive evacuation of cities during a crisis might be interpreted by the enemy as a preliminary step toward a nuclear attack and thereby precipitate just such an attack on his part before the evacuation could be completed, in order to strike the first blow. Under such circumstances a substantial measure of protection against all the effects of hydrogen bombs for personnel and for essential governmental and industrial installations in blast areas might be indispensable, combined with a large degree of industrial dispersion. The dispersal of Soviet industries has been underway a long time; their decentralized control has been instituted under Khrushchev; and according to reports Russian civil defense shelters are being constructed against blast as well as

against fallout so as to afford security in all cases except a direct hit.

Dr. Willard F. Libby, Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Admiral Strauss, and others have declared that excessive importance has been attached to the dangers of radioactive fallout. Short-term survival from the terrible immediate blast, heat, and radiation effects of nuclear bombs within the blast area should not be allowed to become the step-child of civil defense. Were not most of the deaths and injuries inflicted at Hiroshima and Nagasaki the result of blast and burning rather than of radioactivity? And were not very few of the radioactive casualties the result of radioactive fallout beyond the blast areas?

The value of protection against fallout should not be minimized; but is it not urgent that the strength, practicability, and mass production possibilities of shelters built to give triple protection against blast, heat, and fallout be investigated and tested? One of the witnesses at the hearings held by Chairman HOLIFIELD of the Military Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations was Associate Director Walmer E. Strope of the Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory. Basing his views upon 4 years of testing, he expressed the belief that a high degree of protection against nuclear blast, fire, and radiation could be provided by shelters costing between \$50 and \$125 per person, and that group shelters might eventually be provided to protect 100 people for 14 days at even less cost. The shelters already tested are flexible steel arch structures, 25 feet wide, 48 feet long, and covered by several feet of dirt. If the relatively cheap production of personnel shelters should be feasible, then a "crash" program to provide personnel shelters held to minimum requirements might be combined with a long-range program designed to secure the wide dispersal of population and industry and protected structures for vital governmental and industrial activities.

The second point which I would like to call to your attention is the importance of having civil defense integrated as an essential and conditioning element in all phases of the Nation's political, social, and economic development. In all Federal loans, grants, construction projects, and contracts with business firms for supplies and procurement, through tax reduction allowances, and in all phases of urban renewal, shelter construction, built-in protection for vital installations, and the dispersal of offices and plants should be required or encouraged. The ends of civil defense would often require not radical new departures but merely the acceleration, expansion or modification of policies already underway or projected, and would serve sometimes as a positive factor in the solution of serious problems. The problems of urban traffic congestion and mass transit could be met by subways constructed to serve also as civil defense shelters. Multiple uses for shelters, conversely, should be feasible in all types of structures—industrial, business, educational, and residential. The allocation of huge tracts for parks, forests, wild life sanctuaries, and recreation should promote dispersion. The suburban movement, which is already taking over 1 million acres of croplands annually, should be fostered. The systematic dispersion of population and industry would promote public health, efficiency in transportation and circulation, and the reduction of atmospheric, water and land pollution. Speaking without reference to civil defense, Representative REUSS of Wisconsin recently pointed out the benefits which would accrue from the decentralized location of many governmental agencies away from Washington. He declared that a moderation of Washington's rate of growth would assist materially in the solution of the problems

of water, of sewerage, of transportation, of metropolitan planning, without ruining the Nation's Capital. He argued also that many agencies (such as the Fish and Wildlife Service and the Soil Conservation Service) would operate more efficiently if located closer to the areas of their primary responsibility, while many communities throughout the country would benefit from the infusion of stable employment and taxpaying groups of Federal employees.

The agricultural surpluses could be profitably utilized as much as possible in the large-scale stockpiling of food and supplies. Civil defense requirements could be a stimulus and conditioning factor in the technological modernization of the industrial plant of the United States. A public works program directed toward the purposes of civil defense would stimulate business, alleviate unemployment, and contribute also to the "work relief" policy advocated by Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen. If necessary, a Civil Defense Construction Corps could be created similar to the Civilian Conservation Corps of the New Deal. It is noteworthy that the Rural Electrification Administration, having virtually completed its New Deal assignment of providing electric lights, and the accompanying services for rural homes, has been charged by the Kennedy administration with a new task—that of creating jobs for some 1,400,000 unemployed rural Americans, the occupational casualties of agriculture's mechanization and increased efficiency. The solution contemplated lies not in encouraging migration to cities already suffering from unemployment, but in establishing small industries and recreational facilities in rural areas and small towns. Both the REA and the area redevelopment program could be granted greatly expanded sums to promote the widest possible distribution of factories and industrial projects.

The possibilities of the immunization of human beings against the fatal or injurious effects of radiation should receive attention. Dr. R. R. Overman of the University of Tennessee, speaking before the American Federation of Societies for Experimental Biology in Atlantic City this year, reported the success of such immunization in the case of animals, through the administration of small doses of radio-protective compounds prior to each exposure. Vigilance should also be exercised in the apprehension of weapons or devices of chemical, biological, and germ warfare and in the preparation of countervailing measures, including training and equipment for the public.

Besides serving as insurance against destruction or defeat in case of war, a strong civil defense would strengthen the deterrent effect of America's armaments, balancing their offensive power with a firm defensive base. It would make possible a saner, more credible, and more determined stand against Communist expansion, rendering less desperate and suicidal the choices which would confront the administration in times of crisis. Synchronized with and providing impetus to the solution of social and economic problems, it could play a constructive role in the Nation's life.

Such a program would undoubtedly be expensive and difficult. But the development of thermonuclear methods of warfare imposes two heavy responsibilities upon the nations: (1) a constant, unwavering search for an effective ban on nuclear tests and effective limitations on nuclear weapons; and (2) the preparation of civil defense measures against such weapons. Expert witnesses before the Military Operations Subcommittee, including Herman Kahn and Norman A. Hanunian of the Rand Corp., estimated in general that an elaborate program, including large underground group shelters and detailed evacuation and reconstruction plans, would cost from \$10 to \$30 billion

spread over 2 or 3 years, but could hold deaths to 10 million even in case of an unlimited nuclear conflict in which every city and military installation in the country would be hit by hydrogen bombs. Is this sum, or much more if necessary, too high a price to pay to safeguard scores of millions of lives?

Sincerely yours,

KEMP P. YARBOROUGH,
ST. MARYS CITY, MD.

**Honorary Life Membership in ROA to
Hon. Paul Kilday**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

or

HON. ROBERT L. F. SIKES

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, it is my pleasure to announce that on last Thursday, the Reserve Officers Association of the United States bestowed an honorary life membership in ROA to the Honorable PAUL KILDAY, who is leaving his seat in the Congress soon to take a place on the U.S. Court of Military Appeals to which he has been appointed by the President.

The award was made at a luncheon attended by about 30 Members of this body, including our Acting Speaker, the leaders of both the major parties in this House, the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson; the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable John B. Connally; the Assistant Secretary of Defense, the Honorable Carlisle P. Runge; the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, General Curtis LeMay; the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the Honorable Carl Vinson; and several other Members of this body and the Senate, along with representatives of the press, national officers of the ROA, and the national staff of this association, all of whom are so well and favorably known to us.

The presentation of this honorary membership in ROA, which is rarely bestowed upon any individual, was made by the senior Senator from Texas, the Honorable RALPH YARBOROUGH, and the ROA citation was read by the national President of ROA, Rear Adm. John E. Harlin, U.S. Naval Reserve.

Admiral Harlin, who for 34 years has been in the Naval Reserve, is the senior pilot of Trans-World Airlines, flying new type jet transport aircraft between the United States and Europe. He is still active as a member of the pilot staff of the Military Air Transport Service.

I should like to call your attention to the remarks made by Admiral Harlin in presenting this citation, together with the resolution adopted by ROA's national convention at San Antonio earlier this summer relating to the service of PAUL KILDAY, in whose service we all take pride:

This is our association's tribute to the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY, a Representative in the Congress of the United States from Texas since 1939, in honor of the tremendous

contributions of this learned and much respected and loved man, who has done so much for the welfare of his constituents, the State of Texas and the American people, and most especially those who serve and have served in our Armed Forces. To him we present an honorary life membership. This token of our high esteem for PAUL KILDAY is but a slight indication of the very great regard in which we and all who know him hold this man. No person in recent memory can claim authorship of so many legislative accomplishments which have played such a vital role in the maintenance of high morale among our Armed Forces. Every pay raise and incentive law since 1949 have been under the direct leadership of this outstanding legislator. Legislative acts such as the Career Compensation Act, the pay raise of 1952, the Pay Act of 1955, the Pay Act of 1958, the Dependents Medicare Act, as well as countless other laws of benefit to the uniformed services have resulted from his direct leadership. But he has not taken unto himself just those things that are sweet to the ears, since he has also assumed responsibility for such laws as the Navy "Hump" Act and the Air Force "White Charger" Act. These laws have benefited and will continue to benefit the younger officers at the expense of older officers. But all of this was for the best interest of the uniformed services and whenever the best interests of the uniformed services is involved there you will find PAUL KILDAY's main interest. He now leaves the Congress to assume the great and demanding tasks of a jurist. A successor will be elected to fill the vacancy he will leave, but the Reserve Officers Association can truly say that there can be no one who will ever surpass PAUL KILDAY in his devotion to that which is best for the country and the uniformed services.

RESERVE OFFICERS ASSOCIATION OF THE UNITED STATES—HONORARY LIFE MEMBER

Whereas the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY, of San Antonio, Tex., has eminently represented the Second District of Texas for 23 years in the House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.; and

Whereas during these years of service he has consistently demonstrated his ability to lead, his talents to create, his knowledge to convince and good judgment in rendering exceptional services to his district, the State of Texas, and the Nation as a whole; and

Whereas Congressman KILDAY's great concern for the welfare of the personnel of the defense forces and Government employees individually, and as a group, has contributed immeasurably to their high state of morale; and

Whereas as a member of the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives his leadership has been a dominating influence in shaping our national defense policies and providing funds for their implementation; and

Whereas Hon. PAUL J. KILDAY has upon all occasions demonstrated his sincere interest in the Organized Reserves and the program sponsored by the national headquarters of the Reserve Officers Association by conferring with committees of the ROA and by attending and addressing our State and National gatherings; and

Whereas Congressman KILDAY has been appointed by President John F. Kennedy as Judge of the U.S. Court of Military Appeals; Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this national convention assembled this 23d day of June 1961 in San Antonio, Tex., convey to the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY its deep and lasting appreciation of his long, valuable, and eminent service to the cause of national defense and thank him especially for his consistent support and friendly and appreciative attitude toward

committees of the ROA in discussions of subjects affecting our welfare; and be it further

Resolved, That the Honorable PAUL J. KILDAY having demonstrated a sincere and abiding interest in the objectives of the ROA, be elected to honorary life membership in the Reserve Officers Association of the United States.

Recommended by the executive committee in accordance with article A-3(e) of the constitution.

Adopted by the 35th national convention, June 23, 1961.

**Will Rayburn Return to House
Speakership?**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1961

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, one of the most prominent newspapers in my congressional district, the Pontiac Press, recently published an editorial tribute to our Speaker of the House, the Honorable SAM RAYBURN.

May I join in this good wish for a speedy recovery for "Mr. SAM," and add the hope that he will soon be with us again as chairman of the House of Representatives.

It is difficult to remember the day when the gentleman from Texas was not Speaker of the House. He has established a record for continuous service in one of the most demanding, one of the most important positions in our Federal Government.

Speaking as a Member from the opposite side of the aisle from the Speaker, I have been constantly impressed with his dignity, the fair play and the wisdom he has demonstrated in his dealings with the Congress.

During my freshman days here on Capitol Hill, Speaker Rayburn was always courteous and kind toward those who were first learning their way around this maze which is our Federal Government.

There has been talk that the Speaker's back problems may prevent him from resuming his chair next session. I, for one, hope that these prove to be unfounded rumors, and that Mr. SAM will once again be with us supplying the leadership and the continuity that the legislative branch of the Federal Government needs to make it operate smoothly and in the best interests of all our citizens.

Certainly, his wisdom and experience are unmatched anywhere in this Nation, and I think it important that our Nation be permitted to make use of this great store of experience which is available to us through our Speaker.

For the information of my colleagues, the excellent editorial follows:

**WILL RAYBURN RETURN TO HOUSE
SPEAKERSHIP?**

There is plenty of speculation around Washington, and especially on Capitol Hill on whether or not "Mr. SAM" will return to the House speakership.

Temporarily, the reins have been turned over to Majority Leader JOHN W. McCORMACK. For the last 21 years SAM RAYBURN has been the undisputed leader of the Democrats in the House.

We are sorry to read that this old political warrior has bowed out for a much needed rest. His political savvy at the Speaker's podium will be missed.

With a new regime in power, the know-how and dedication of men like RAYBURN are needed. Mr. SAM is getting on in years, but at 79 his spirit is almost indestructible.

If his back difficulty proves too much and he can't return for the next session, his job could well be up for grabs. Current reports are that McCORMACK is at odds with the President.

Be that as it may, we are pulling for Mr. SAM to regain his health and take over top leadership of his party.

Student Congress Doesn't Speak for All Collegians, Public Told; Letter From Brian Edwards, Former Elections Commissioner, Long Beach State College, Class of 1961, Appearing in the Column "Letters to the Times," in the Los Angeles Times, Los Angeles, Calif., Thursday, August 31, 1961

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1961

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I call your attention to the following letter appearing in the column "Letters to the Times" in the Los Angeles Times on Thursday, August 31, 1961:

STUDENT CONGRESS DOESN'T SPEAK FOR ALL COLLEGIANS, PUBLIC TOLD

Noting the August 27 article, "Student Group Assails House Red Quiz Unit," referring to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I would like to comment on the National Student Association Congress meeting in Madison, Wis.

The group does not represent the true feelings of the college students in the United States.

Last March a representative of this group approached the officers of the Associated Students of Long Beach State College with the hope that our campus would join their ranks. After 2 hours of discussion with the representative, and reviewing the previous year's student body president's suggestions, we unanimously turned down the offer. Reasons cited were:

1. That the former student body president had attended the congress last year, and felt the experience was not worth the expense.

2. That the congress did not represent all of the college students of the United States, just a minority of liberal-leaning individuals.

3. That the college and student government would not wish to be associated with the left-leaning congress.

I hope that readers will realize that American college students are oftentimes spoken for by a minority group who do not truly represent their views.

BRIAN EDWARDS,
Former Elections Commissioner, Long Beach State College, Class of 1961.

Basic Facts on Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, August 31, 1961

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include excerpts from remarks made by Assistant Secretary of Defense Paul H. Nitze at a meeting of the Association of the U.S. Army here last week:

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS MADE BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE PAUL H. NITZE

Berlin is the focus of a larger problem. Our capacities to meet the Berlin situation extend beyond the confines of the city and its access routes. I was reminded of this during the recent negotiations at Geneva over the problem of Laos. To emphasize his argument, Mr. [Andrei A.] Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, repeatedly pointed at a map of Laos marked to show territories said to be held by the different forces, saying, "Just look at the map."

The question was not what one would see on that map, but whether that map was the right one. Was it big enough? Mr. Gromyko wished us to center attention on a map restricted to an area of preponderant advantage to the Communists—not on a bigger map showing our respective strengths on a global scale.

The point is that we can offset a local preponderance of Communist strength by a determination to apply Western strength on terms other than those selected by the Soviets. Soviet tanks across the autobahn to Berlin would interpose at only one of the many points throughout the world where the important or vital interests of the Soviet Empire are vulnerable.

In meeting the Berlin or other Communist challenges, general nuclear war should not be our only recourse. But let me be very clear: we must first have nuclear striking power before our other capacities to meet these challenges can be effective.

DETERRENT POWER INCREASED

Thus, one of the first tasks to which this administration addressed itself was the strengthening of our nuclear deterrent capabilities both for the immediate future and the longer-range future.

To achieve this the United States took a series of measures. First, we moved to improve our missile deterrent by emphasizing hidden, moving, or invulnerable delivery systems. We accelerated the program for building of the Polaris submarine force. We expanded the development of the solid-fuel Minuteman. We are developing improved air-to-ground missiles, such as the Skybolt.

Second, to protect our existing bomber forces for their nuclear deterrent role, we have increased our ground and airborne alert capacities and are working to install bomb alarm detectors and signals at key warning and communications points and all SAC [Strategic Air Command] bases.

Third, we are constructing and improving our continental defense and warning systems, such as BMEWS [ballistic missile early warning system] and the satellite-borne Midas system to add precious additional minutes to our warning of an attack.

Fourth, we are examining with care the problem—organizational and technical—of command and control of nuclear weapons to assure that the decision to use such weapons can be responsibly exercised under the authority of the President and to minimize

the risks of triggering war by accident or miscalculation.

Fifth, as an insurance policy to mitigate devastation of our population should there be a nuclear war, we are seriously undertaking a program of civilian defense.

Finally, in spite of the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests, we shall still strongly support sensible proposals for achievement of responsible arms control.

If a strong nuclear force were all we had to meet Communist challenges, a situation of superior local Communist strength might force on us the alternatives of either national humiliation or all-out war. For this reason, the second goal of the administration is to strengthen and expand the intermediate options in terms of military force.

ARMY'S ROLE STRESSED

In these intermediate options the U.S. Army plays a vital role. Our ability to respond to challenges with increased levels of force short of all-out war has been neglected in the past. We are doing our best to make the necessary adjustments.

The increases in conventional capability will strengthen, and not weaken, our policy of deterring war. For the ability to commit forces in the intermediate range makes more credible to the U.S.S.R. the certain prospect that we will back our nonnuclear forces by the use of our strategic capabilities, should that be necessary.

In summary, first, we have great nuclear capabilities. We are not particularly impressed with the Soviet threat to develop nuclear weapons in the 100-megaton range. We are not interested in arms of terroristic nature, but rather our nuclear capability is tailored to specific tasks.

We have a tremendous variety of warheads which gives us the flexibility we require to conduct nuclear actions from the level of large-scale destruction down to mere demolition work. I could not, of course, give specific numbers, but I can say that the number of nuclear delivery vehicles of all types which the United States possesses provides the flexibility for virtually all modes and levels of warfare.

Second, at the same time, we have a growing nonnuclear capability with a large growth potential. The economic base represented by the United States and our Western European allies far outdistances that of the Communist bloc.

But to apply it to the development of enough conventional military power to offset fully the Communist conventional power will require determination, will and sacrifice. I can only assure you that as these are called for by developments, the administration will ask for them in the full confidence that the American people will respond as they always have when their leaders lay great issues before them, and that our allies will do their share.

Opponents of Communists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, one of the most acute, sensitive, and sincere statements on communism and Christianity I have seen, was made recently by Rev. Leopold Hoppe, rector of Grace Episcopal Church, in Ottawa, Kans. His statement took the form of a letter to the editor of the Ottawa (Kans.) Herald,

and was printed as the Herald's lead editorial on Wednesday, August 30, 1961.

The letter follows:

OPPONENTS OF COMMUNISTS

As a clergyman, I must take exception to a letter which appeared in the Ottawa Herald several days ago. That letter implied that clergymen were either willingly or unwittingly promoting communism.

I would like to be the first to admit that some of the clergy have been used by the Communists, and even a few have been openly pro-Communist, but I must object to any insinuation that the clergy of this community—however much I may disagree with their theological position—are promoting the cause of communism.

It seems to me that the clergymen of the community should be considered the most telling critics of communism, because they should be the first to understand the basic errors of Communist theory. These are the infinite perfectability of man and the belief that the Kingdom of God is something that is realizable here and now.

In 1788 Edward Gibbon completed his work, "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in which he listed five reasons why that civilization crumbled before the barbarian onslaught:

1. The rapid increase of divorce: The undermining of the sanctity of the home which is the basis of society.

2. Higher and higher taxes and the spending of public money for free bread and circuses for the populace (like the construction of unnecessary public buildings).

2. The mad craze for pleasure: Sport becoming more important in the life of the people with every passing year.

4. The building of gigantic armaments when the real enemy was the decadence of the people.

5. The decay of religion; the rise of many sects; and the disrespect of the people for their religious leaders.

I believe there are some lessons for us here today.

Rev. LEOPOLD HOPPE,
Grace Episcopal Church.

Purchio Was a Good Selection by Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 29, 1961

Mr. GEORGE P. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, last week Gov. Edmund G. Brown, of California, appointed one of my constituents to the position of superior court judge for Alameda County. He is John J. Purchio of Hayward. Judge Purchio has a distinguished career in the legal profession. He has tirelessly served his community and State. I am pleased to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an editorial from the San Leandro Morning News which gives fitting tribute to the new judge as well as offering an appropriate compliment to the Governor upon the wisdom of his selection.

PURCHIO WAS A GOOD SELECTION BY BROWN

This week the Morning News reported exclusively that John J. Purchio, one-time mayor of neighboring Hayward, will be appointed by Gov. Edmund G. Brown to fill one of Alameda County's two vacant superior court judgeships.

Now, scooping the field—as the saying goes—brings a great deal of satisfaction. Satisfaction which takes the place of miser's gold. But relax. This isn't a verbal back-pat. It's a comment on the very basic soundness of Brown's choice.

John Purchio started his law practice in 1947. Over the years, he has become known as one of northern California's top trial attorneys. If competence and technical knowledge were the only criteria for the selection of a superior judge, the man in consideration would qualify without question.

And yet, a judge should possess—in his person—more than bare facts and a familiarity with those facts' previous applications in pertinent courts of law. He must have a deeply rooted understanding of the human mechanism; he must have and exercise daily all the commonsense and compassion which his title implies.

Happily, John Purchio is not a man who could be counted out because these latter, bonus qualities are lacking. A judge's wisdom is the gift of his years on the bench, but Purchio's personal code and his manner of dealing with people show that the seeds are there—show, indeed, that the seeds of wisdom have already burst their pods.

Governor Brown should be commended for picking this man. And, incidentally, such thoroughgoing knowledge of the material at hand is hardly the earmark of a spineless administration—which was one of the arrows shot by Robert McCarthy when he stepped out as State director of motor vehicles.

Another Morning News editorial, written and run long before the actual decision was made, asked Brown to consider a south county man for the bench.

Well, consider he did.

And select he did.

And his choice was a smart one. As smart as a judge.

Russia's Plans for Gas Warfare

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to include the following article from the current issue of an excellent quarterly magazine, *Quest*, which has come to my attention. Unfortunately the circulation of this publication is limited, and so I believe it is worthwhile to call attention to the discussion of Soviet civil defense entitled "Russia's Plans for Gas Warfare."

In the light of the disclosures of our own civil defense weakness, it does not make pleasant reading, but I am hopeful that this sort of information will give added impetus to the development of a civil defense program which is at least as adequate as that of the Soviet Union. My mail contains many letters from people in the Sixth District of Michigan who are concerned about the lack of a definite program for defense against modern warfare. I take their letters as evidence that the informed citizens of a democratic nation will cooperate in a program for their own defense without the Government coercion

which is part of the Soviet system and is described in the article which follows:

RUSSIA'S PLANS FOR GAS WARFARE
(By S. David Pursglove)

(The Soviet Union plans to turn any world war III into a CBR war, intelligence sources are convinced. And the Reds are far better prepared than we are to withstand chemical, biological, and radiological warfare—with its canisters of tularemia and cholera, its sprays of radioactive wastes from nuclear reactors, its bombs containing nerve gases and the old standby, mustard gas.)

Officials feel these conclusions are inescapable, since what we know of Russian offensive CBR capabilities is confirmed by the extent of their defenses. Indeed, ever since warfare began, an intelligence officer's best indication of enemy intent has been a look at how the enemy is prepared to defend himself. And the Soviet Union is far better prepared than we.

The average Russian knows as much about protecting himself from CBR attack as he knows about his job. Hundreds of thousands of Russians have especially developed civilian gas masks hanging in their homes or stored handily in office desk drawers. All other Russians know where to turn at any moment to get a government-issued emergency mask from the stocks in their offices, factories, or apartment houses.

Every new building in Russia—office, apartment or home—has to be built over a civil-defense-approved fallout shelter. All over the vast expanse of the Soviet Union are civil defense stores that sell radiation dosimeters, gas masks, anti-poison-gas kits, and rubber clothing for protection against fallout. And the people know how to use this equipment. Almost every Russian adult and teenager has been through an intensive, compulsory 22-hour civil defense course. Millions have had another three or four courses averaging 10 hours each, and now they are required to pass a new 12-hour course.

Since the Soviet revolution, and especially since their recognition of military airpower in 1931, the Russians have been learning how to organize their massive civilian population into a defense organization as effective as a well-run army. Two major organizations spearhead this program.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD)—once synonymous with the dreaded secret police, and still responsible for regular police and the labor camps—is in overall charge of civilian defense. Many MVD and regular army troops are slated for civil defense operations in wartime. However, the MVD normally runs its homefront defense program through public officials.

Each city's administration chart has a dual character. Every official has his normal function and also has a civil defense assignment. These are not static roles. MVD maintains a small corps of civil defense specialists in every city. In war, they will supervise city officials in their defense tasks; in peace, they constantly inspect civil defense readiness, test the results of intensive population training and approve or reject with an eye on civil defense all plans for new streets, subways, parks, buildings and factories.

Closely cooperating with the MVD is the organization that actually conducts training and distributes materials and equipment—the Volunteer Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force and Fleet (DOSAAF). For 30 years, DOSAAF has conducted courses in marksmanship, skiing, first aid, flying, parachuting, gliding, chemical and air defense. Now anti-CBR defense is stressed through its thousands of units in cities, collective farms, universities and factories in the Soviet Union. DOSAAF has military instructors teaching courses sponsored by the armed

forces. There are also civilian instructors who vie with the military in teaching civil defense courses where it is a crime to be a poor or lax teacher.

In the past 2 years, almost every Russian adult has been enrolled in a compulsory civil defense course being taught by 40,000 specially trained DOSAAF instructors. Not only does the course require knowledge, for instance, of how to use a gas mask, but it also demands that the citizen understand gas mask design so he can improvise his own in an emergency. For a solid hour, instructors chosen for what we Americans would call bloodthirstiness, hammer at the newest methods of warfare and what they mean to civilians in terms of blast wave destruction, fireball effect, radiation burn, chemical toxicity and infectious diseases. Most of this arouses interest and gives the citizen a reason to remain alert and absorb the instruction. (There is also another, probably more effective, reason: if he falls, he has to repeat the course.) Another hour is devoted to designing air filters for shelters. Two hours are spent on the theory of protecting food and water from contamination and radioactive fallout.

It is not all theory and classroom work that make up the 12-hour course. There is plenty of practice. After an instructor describes the reasons for skimming surface snow from chosen paths in fallout areas, the students, men and women alike, go outside and shovel snow until the instructor or MVD inspector is satisfied that they are doing it properly. And woe unto the student who fails to understand his gas mask lecture, for as soon as the gas warfare test chamber in city or collective farm is available to his class, he must depend on his mask for protection as he first sits, and then exercises, in an atmosphere of war gas. The gas is usually chloropicrin—actually used in World War I combat. It is a strong, sometimes dangerous, type of tear gas.

For most Russians, however, this is just a refresher course with some new material added. We now know that between 1956 and 1959, most of the population took a similar 22-hour course. And in 1955-56, 110 million Russians—85.5 percent of the civilians between ages 16 and 60—passed a 10-hour course in atomic warfare defense.

DOSAAF keeps local units well supplied with training materials. There are always masks, dosimeters, at least three types of fire extinguishers, first aid equipment, chemical warfare protection and detection kits, and all kinds of tools. There is also a wide assortment of well-written, profusely illustrated training manuals and civil defense pamphlets. DOSAAF units and the MVD supply a constantly changing set of civil defense posters to factory superintendents and building managers who are required to display them. These are not just slogan posters—many of them are enlarged reproductions of pages from instruction manuals. Attention-getting color is widely used in posters and books produced by DOSAAF's own huge publishing house.

Some classes taking advanced training for coveted civil defense badges are called out in the middle of the night on "chemical alerts" and march as much as 10 miles, up to 2 miles while wearing their masks. Others are called out to ski 15 miles, 3 miles with masks on—and always at night, so not to interfere with regular work.

The Russian civilian gas mask is readily available in civil defense stores operated by DOSAAF. However, it costs \$10 to \$14—a week's wages for some Russians—and only a few hundred thousand civilians own the masks. The rest of the population trains with masks furnished by DOSAAF. There are mask caches in many office and apartment buildings and factories.

The civilian gas mask is credited as "very good by U.S. Army chemical warfare author-

ties. Unlike most masks, it gives full face protection and covers the chin. It is not as compact as new U.S. masks which use cheek pad filters instead of canisters. However, it is used with the canister kept inside the tightly woven carrying bag which acts as an additional filter against contaminated or radioactive dust particles.

DOSAAF stores also stock, at very low prices, the gauze, cotton and instructions for making emergency masks to protect against breathing radioactive dust. There is a wide line of rubber and rubberized clothing—hats, ponchos, trousers, and boots—to ward off liquid chemicals and fallout dust. Citizens are urged to purchase radiation dosimeters. Two models are stocked: film badges and pencil types. Dosimeters or contamination meters for large areas are distributed to buildings and factories by DOSAAF and to city officials by the MVD.

Not long after intelligence officers started seeing Russian civil defense training manuals and posters, they started getting other pieces of more specific information. They began learning the exact nature of some Soviet work. Take, for example, an atropine Syrette issued to all troops as protection against deadly nerve gases. It looked very much like the one developed for our own troops.

This and other incidents helped to confirm that Russia and the United States probably have been working along similar lines.

Neither nation has a monopoly on knowledge. Said one intelligence officer: "The more I see in this area, the more it proves to me that everybody has the same base level of learning."

There are differences, but they are primarily of degree or emphasis. The Russians are far ahead of us in developing a mass inoculation technique to treat populations exposed to CBR agents. We lead in a program to develop antiradiation drugs as preventive medicine for troops about to enter a radiological warfare zone.

The Russian mass immunization technique uses vaccines in aerosol form—by generating a fine mist of active ingredients. Soviet Army medical specialists seem to feel that their spray generators are fully developed, and that they know enough about the effects of a number of agents in aerosol form to put the technique to use. The U.S. Army Medical Service is approaching the "aerogenic technique" very cautiously. Vaccines that behave one way when injected hypodermically sometimes behave quite differently when tried as aerosols. This is especially true of vaccines that should not contact the respiratory system. Officers believe that some lifesaving vaccines can actually produce pneumonia when they are administered in the aerosol form.

We still are working with lower animals in developing our own aerosol vaccine technique. The aerosol generator, which one officer says will be "a very expensive piece of gadgetry," presents the least problems. The physiology is another matter. How does dissemination as an aerosol affect the size of the needed dose? How often should it be administered? What are the differences between walking and running through an aerosol-filled room? What happens if a person, such as a crippled person, stays too long? Until these questions are answered, the Army Medical Service will rely on its rapid, multi-shot, high-pressure spray hypodermic.

Another area where both nations have worked independently but along similar lines, is in antiradiation drugs. Medical officers of both armies are pursuing programs built around mercaptans. These sulfur-containing compounds are highly effective in reducing radiation sickness. However, their toxicity is as great a curse as the radiation sickness that they prevent.

Our program has reached the point of testing small doses of several compounds on men. Army Medical Service officers are confident that an acceptable prophylaxis should be ready for wide testing within perhaps 2 years. If it is the logical outgrowth of the present program, it will require advance warning of radiological attack since it will be effective only if administered several hours before exposure.

The Russians, as well as their satellite allies, are also working on mercaptans. However, even the most likely looking Russian developments have been tested only on rodents, dogs, and monkeys, as far as U.S. officers can learn.

In both nations, the antiradiation drug programs rely heavily on outside research and industrial laboratories for clues to further advances. In Russia there is no problem. All research results in any field are reported routinely to the Minister of Defense. There is no separation between the chemical industry and the state. The Government readily gets what it needs.

In the United States, the situation is much different. The Army Medical Service has to make its problems and needs known to industry and to independent research laboratories, persuade them to cooperate, and convince them that proprietary information will be carefully guarded. All of this must be done on a very small budget.

The Army Medical Service right now limits its requests for information to the field of sulfur chemistry. The much larger industry contact program of the Army Chemical Corps—which seeks information in all fields—perhaps provides a better understanding of how these programs work.

Over 500 of the Nation's 3,000 R. & D. laboratories already participate in a liaison program sponsored by the Army Chemical Corps. Hopefully, more laboratories will join in participating, so that the Army can keep up with the snowballing information it needs in chemistry, metallurgy, medicine, electronics, and the many other fields that contribute to modern chemical-biological-radiological warfare.

Many of these will be the key the Army needs to new incapacitating agents, more effective smoke pots, better flamethrower gaskets, or faster poison gas detection systems. Industrial research people in all fields last year reported to the Army several thousand developments and discoveries. Some of these were the intentional results of their research, some were accidental. Often it is the accidental that has proved more promising.

Mustard gas, for example, was known for 50 years before its value as a weapon was recognized in 1917. Its effectiveness probably was first recognized as a result of an accidental spill on H. T. Clarke when he was working in Emil Fischer's laboratory in 1911 and 1912. Tabun and Sarin—the nerve gases or G-agents—were discovered by Schrader in Germany, while he was searching for new insecticides.

An Army Chemical Center spokesman credits the liaison program with the information responsible for "a great percentage" of the new incapacitating agents that recently have fascinated newspaper readers. These are agents that put a soldier out of action without killing him. They do it by making him overly nervous, or too relaxed, or extremely sensitive to slight temperature changes. Or, they make him laugh himself out of action. Or, they might make him lose his energy, or cause him to vomit so much that he is incapable of fighting.

The Chemical Corps has carried out projects to bring ideas into practical shape for use as weapons. Officials still hope that they never will be used. But only a fool would be without them if his enemy has them.

The whole question of whether CBR warfare should be discussed in public draws the

charge, more often than not, that the Pentagon is trying to get a larger budget. This might have been true several years ago when the Chemical Corps had to beg for funds to conduct work. The budget, however, has grown, and, over a year ago, Army Research and Development Director Richard S. Morse publicly stated that there was enough money for CBR:

"We do not need any more. In fiscal year 1960 we spent \$40 million, and this has been expanded. The fiscal 1961 and 1962 budgets are going up, not in a crash program but at an orderly rate."

Despite greater spending, CBR warfare is still kept out of public Pentagon conversation. (A few generals have admitted it into their vocabularies, but with the prefix, "defense against * * *") Too, the State Department now limits its control over the Pentagon's public discussions to the censorship of any references to offensive use of the weapons by the United States.

But perhaps the best indication that the ostrich has uncovered its head is that references to CBR developments by Government officials, which used to draw indignant charges of "amateurish statesmanship," "an unforgivable slip," or worse from the British Embassy, now brings little more than raised eyebrows.

Even with the relatively free discussions of CBR warfare these days, few details are made public on exactly which war gases we know the Russians are stockpiling, or which type of germ warfare they are ready to unleash. For such discussions tell the Russians more about us than we are telling our people about the Russians. For each bit of information that is printed in the United States tells the Reds about a different facet of our intelligence operations—and about the leaks in their own security.

It gains us nothing to describe in detail what we know of their offensive plans; but rest assured, we do know what they are doing, and we know that it is not very different from what we are doing. Neither nation has a monopoly.

The Russians, of course, know that we are familiar with their CBR defense plans. After all, they have been drilled into the minds of a hundred million of their citizens.

But the question of their defenses brings up the question of ours. And here the Russians obviously are aware of the evaluation of our efforts made by the U.S. National Academy of Sciences:

1. In our limited program, much information and resources are not used properly.

2. The secrecy surrounding many civil defense activities results in withholding some information that citizens need for realistic planning.

3. Civil defense in America will remain ineffective as long as it holds an assigned status lower than military defense.

Basically, the United States has not been able to stimulate enough interest in civil defense. Even where special anti-CBR equipment has been developed—and we have a good, low-cost civilian protective mask, for example—there is not enough interest to warrant mass production and distribution.

Some Russian citizens do not like to give up free time to civil defense instruction any more than Americans would. However, centuries of war, two generations of civil defense, and a controlled press and radio have made most Russians not only receptive, but eager. A Stanford Research Institute expert who specializes in Russian civil and military defense points to another important factor:

"Russians always have had a lower standard of living and more government regimentation than U.S. citizens. By comparison, the Russian has to give up far less to achieve adequate civil defense. Now the area to watch is Communist China—the Chinese will have to give up virtually nothing to develop

a civil defense more effective even than Russia's."

What does this difference between free world and Communist civil defense mean to the average citizen in the cold war? Herman Kahn, Rand Corp. specialist on Russian defenses, makes it very clear:

"There is an enormous difference in the bargaining ability of a country which can put its people in safety on 24 hours' notice and one which cannot. If this is hard to visualize, imagine that the Russians had done exactly that, and we had not. Then, ask yourself how you think we would come out at a subsequent bargaining table."

HOW TO CURE PASSIVE RESISTANCE

This example of how the Russians plan to use radiological warfare in a conquered area would have done credit to Machiavelli:

Wherever passive resistance by civilian factory workers is encountered, the Reds will spray the area lightly with radioactive agents each week or each month. They will then announce their action and describe the necessity for daily decontamination. The decontamination stations will be located in factories—or on farms or other locations where the Reds want the workers to report. The technique, besides bringing in the workers, can be used to regiment the population for other purposes.

CBR WARFARE—SOME DEFINITIONS

The phrase "CBR warfare" is an abbreviated way of referring to chemical, biological and radiological warfare. When a military man refers to chemical warfare, he means the intentional employment of toxic gases, liquids, or solids, to produce casualties, and the use of screening smoke or incendiaries. Biological warfare is the military use of living organisms or their toxic products to cause death, disability, or damage to man, his domestic animals, or crops. Radiological warfare employs the harmful ionizing effects of radiation against man, whether directly or indirectly.

Poison gas was proposed for use against the Russians in the Crimean War, and in our Civil War against the Confederate Army, but neither suggestion was put to the test. Tear gases were used for harassment purposes by the French in August 1914. The first significant gas attack was the German use of chlorine on April 22, 1915, against the British and French at Ypres. The British retaliated in kind 6 months later at Loos. The next major step was the German introduction of phosgene, a choking gas which could penetrate the crude gas masks then in existence. The Germans introduced mustard gas in July 1917. This blistering agent could produce casualties even among men wearing masks. Another family of toxic gases was introduced by the French and the Austrians in 1918—the blood gases. The first American use of gas was in June 1918, when phosgene was used against the Germans.

Prohibition of gas warfare was agreed to by a number of countries at The Hague in 1899. Neither the United States nor Great Britain signed this treaty. Since the treaty banned use of gas-filled projectiles, French use of tear gas rifle grenades in 1914, and German use of stationary pressurized chlorine gas tanks for the first attack made it a moot point as to whether or how any treaty obligations had been violated. In 1925 a treaty at the Geneva Conference called not only for prohibition of war gases but also bacteriological warfare. In ratifying the treaty, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., and some other nations made it clear they were bound only in relation to other countries complying with the treaty terms. The United States, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, and Brazil did not sign the treaty.

Biological warfare also goes far back in history. Poisoning of wells was an old trick.

In the 14th century, the Tartars besieging the Italians in a fortress in Crimea threw over the wall the bodies of plague victims. By the 16th century, an Italian tactical manual described how to construct artillery shells for delivery of disease to the enemy. In our own colonial days, it is reported that European traders passed out blankets used by smallpox victims to Indians so as to reduce their fighting strength. There is definite evidence that in more recent times German agents in this country inoculated animals being shipped to Europe, so that diseases would be carried there.

Limited biological warfare may have been tested by Japan in China during World War II.

Radiological warfare was not a serious possibility until the perfection of the atomic bomb in 1945. The initial burst of radioactivity from the bomb and fireball is not classed as radiological warfare, only the succeeding radioactive fallout. This definition may have to be modified if a new nuclear weapon designed primarily to produce neutrons is developed. The bombs burst over Japan were not radiological weapons.

Radiological warfare calls for bombing or spraying areas with radioactive materials. These can be isotopes created for RW; they can be the packaged waste products of nuclear reactors.

This is Progress?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 29, 1961

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted to revise and extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Arizona Republic of September 4, 1961. This editorial depicts a situation which should be called to the attention of all Members of Congress, and to those who administer our foreign aid program. While this program is not intended to invade the sovereignty of any other nation, certainly we do not need to give aid to nations which hire Americans to distribute it with the record of Lauchlin Currie. It is my understanding that there is a rather large Communist movement in the Republic of Colombia. Does it not seem reasonable to assume that an Administrator with Mr. Currie's leanings would use our own dollars to further that movement? The editorial entitled "This Is Progress?" follows:

THIS IS PROGRESS?

The \$20 billion alliance for progress, a 10-year plan to socialize Latin America, is off to an inglorious start. For the man reportedly chosen to distribute alliance funds for the Colombian Government, and the author of "Operation Colombia," a Socialist blueprint for regulating that nation's economy, is none other than Lauchlin Currie, former assistant to F.D.R. who was named under oath as a Soviet spy, and who subsequently renounced his American citizenship.

Currie, born in Nova Scotia, taught economics at Harvard before moving into the Government in 1934. He gradually worked his way into Roosevelt's confidence and during the war was assigned to Far Eastern

affairs for the White House. During those years, Currie seemed to be everywhere at once: He arranged a journey through China and Siberia for Henry Wallace, accompanied by Owen Lattimore and John Carter Vincent; he arranged for longtime friend Lattimore to be appointed special envoy to Chiang Kai-shek; he helped pick delegates and guests to two international conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations, a notorious pro-Communist organization to which he belonged; he arranged an interview with State Department officials and a Soviet spy who posed as a Tass correspondent; and he arranged a 1942 conference between Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles and Communist Party officials Earl Browder and Robert Minor, in which Welles gave Browder a memorandum, published in the Daily Worker 4 days later, hinting U.S. sympathy for the Chinese Communists.

Currie was busy in a dozen other ways. He served as character reference for top Communists who came into the Government; he hired a veteran Communist as his assistant; he recommended for a wartime commission in Army intelligence the "millionaire Communist," Frederick Vanderbilt Field; and he intervened to clear Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, who intelligence reports said was "beyond reasonable doubt *** a member and a leader of the Communist Party and very probably a secret agent of the OGPU."

In July 1948, a former courier and paymaster of two Soviet espionage cells within the Government, Elizabeth Bentley, named Currie as a member of the Silvermaster spy cell. He and Harry Dexter White, she said, were the two best avenues through which the Communists placed their agents and sympathizers in strategic Government positions. Furthermore, Currie gave the party important information such as the U.S. attitude toward China, and the news that America was on the verge of breaking the Soviet code. Currie, under oath, admitted his long and friendly acquaintance with Silvermaster and other Red spies, but denied knowing they were Communists. Furthermore, he denied transmitting confidential information to unauthorized persons and said he was not a Communist.

In 1950 Currie took off for Colombia where he soon became an adviser to the Colombian Government. He married a Colombian woman and applied for citizenship in the country where presently he operates a cattle ranch and other businesses. In 1953, the FBI named him as one who had supplied U.S. documents to a Russian spy ring, and in 1956, the State Department withdrew his citizenship because he remained outside the U.S. longer than the 5 years permitted by law for naturalized citizens. Today, however, Lauchlin Currie is back in business, preparing to spend U.S. taxpayers' funds, thanks to the alliance for progress.

Strengthening the Two-Party System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KEN HECHLER

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, a strong two-party system is one of the bulwarks of our democracy. Believing as I do that we must all take advantage of any opportunity afforded to strengthen the two-party system, a few days ago I ad-

dressed the following letter to the Honorable Cecil H. Underwood, former Governor of the State of West Virginia:

SEPTEMBER 7, 1961.

HON. CECIL H. UNDERWOOD,
Huntington, W. Va.

DEAR CECIL: I hope you will run against me for Congress in 1962.

It seems to me that in the interests of the two-party system the Republican Party should run its strongest candidate. As a former Governor of West Virginia and temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1960, you are far and away the strongest possible candidate.

There are three reasons which may have kept you from wanting to run for Congress: (1) the responsibilities of your present position as a coal executive; (2) a dislike for the 2-year term; (3) a feeling that the three new counties added to the Fourth Congressional District make Republican success difficult.

Let me analyze each of these. (1) You have made a great contribution to the development of the coal industry in your present position. But no man should refuse a call to the higher duty of public office, where your talents would be available on a far broader scale in the interests of the State we love.

(2) A campaign every 2 years is admittedly difficult. Yet if you should win in 1962, this would be an excellent stepping stone for another statewide race in 1964 for a longer term as Governor or Senator. Meanwhile, by defeating me in 1962, you would not only win the congressional seat for the Republicans, but also make the task easier for the Republican Party in the 1964 congressional race—even if you decided in 1964 to leave Congress in order to run for the Senate or the governorship.

(3) Despite the new counties added, the Fourth Congressional District is still a swing district where the vote will be very close.

In case you are concerned by the Democratic registration majority, perhaps the following figures on your 1960 Senate race within the counties of the new Fourth Congressional District are very revealing:

1960 U.S. Senate race

County	Underwood majority	Randolph majority
Cabell	3,454	
Jackson	1,362	
Lincoln		825
Logan		7,921
Mason	978	
Pleasants	5	
Putnam		406
Ritchie	2,044	
Roane	880	
Tyler	2,001	
Wayne		2,018
Wirt	16	
Wood	3,327	

As you can see, you carried 9 out of the 13 counties in the new Fourth Congressional District. Your total vote in these 13 counties was 96,372 to 93,466 for Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH—a majority of 2,906 against a superb campaigner and a peerless orator. If you could get close to a 3,000 majority over a powerful candidate like Senator RANDOLPH, you should not be afraid of me.

I think if you ran against me we would help to bring the issues forcefully to the attention of the voters, and thereby strengthen the forces of democracy. Such a campaign would stimulate greater interest in government by the people. Whatever the result, the people of West Virginia would gain through wider participation as we both worked constructively for the interests of our State.

You owe it to the Republican Party to make this fight. Even more, you owe it to

the State of West Virginia. I hope you will decide to make the race.

Sincerely,

KEN HECHLER.

When Are We Going To Wake Up?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1961

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, no doubt many have read of the recent newspaper statements by the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, concerning the dangers of a continued nuclear test ban. You will recall that 3 years ago our country, in an effort to lead the way, voluntarily declared a ban on all testing of nuclear materials. During this time, officials of the United States have met repeatedly with U.S.S.R. representatives in an effort to come to some workable agreement which bans the testing of nuclear weapons forever. A sound agreement which would safeguard our country's interest could never be reached due to the Russians efforts to torpedo each conference.

While our scientists cannot prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that the Russians have continued testing, there appears to be little doubt in the minds of most knowledgeable persons that the seismographic readings obtained from stations around the world indicate that a number of disturbances centered in mid-Russia during the 3 test ban years were in fact the results of underground nuclear testing. Now suddenly, and with little or no warning, the U.S.S.R. has exploded five nuclear weapons. It is entirely possible that they have completed as much underground testing as can be profitably accomplished and that the final tests for new weapons must be conducted in the open. This, then, is the signal for their announcement a few days ago followed by five nuclear shots in rapid succession.

It is entirely possible that when the Russians have confirmed and updated their nuclear calculations with these tests, they will then sit down at the conference table and attempt to drag out another lengthy series of disarmament conferences while our country continues its test ban in good faith. If the U.S.S.R. has not already overtaken us, they certainly have greatly closed the gap on what was once an exclusive American Nuclear Society.

The facts are: First, that our Armed Forces are today equipped with nuclear weapons which have never been completely tested by actual explosion; second, that our scientists feel reasonably sure from previous data obtained using a method known as extrapolation—or carrying forward certain phenomena which they have been led to believe will most likely occur—that our weapons will explode with the yield expected;

and, third, that the very survival of the United States may well rest with nuclear weapons that we think will explode if it becomes necessary to detonate them in the defense of our country.

Is it not about time that we resume nuclear testing before it is too late? The test ban has also kept our scientists from developing lighter and more efficient weapons. Near and dear to the heart of everything American is the dream of world peace. You want it, I want it, everyone in their right mind wants it. Peace can only be assured if we are strong enough to impress an enemy with the foolhardiness of his intentions to impose his will upon us. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world big enough and with avowed intentions expressed in the Communist manifesto as early as 1848 and reaffirmed just this year—a dream of world conquest and domination—to challenge our very way of life—our very existence.

The following newspaper articles represent expert opinion regarding the necessity for resuming nuclear testing in the face of the scare tactics of the Kremlin and the imperative need of safeguarding our national security.

[From the New York Journal American, Sept. 1, 1961]

TEST AND LIVE—DE SEVERSKY

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 1.—"It would be national suicide not to resume nuclear testing in order to keep abreast of Soviet Russia," Maj. Alexander P. De Seversky told a cheering audience at the Southern California School of Anticommunism in the Sports Arena last night.

"As long as war itself is not abolished, it is unthinkable to weigh the possibility of this Nation or any other free nations with the potentials to abolish nuclear weapons," the noted and militant authority on air power declared.

"The leaders in the Kremlin do not share our live-and-let-live philosophy, 'coexistence' propaganda to the contrary.

"Therefore, barring instantaneous disintegration of the Soviet state from within, war is inevitable.

"The disintegration must be instantaneous, because at the first sign of serious unrest as a prelude to revolution, the commissars will plunge the world into an atomic holocaust to save their own skins."

However, the author of the best-selling book, "America: Too Young To Die," said he did not believe open war is an immediate danger.

"Right now, Russia is not looking for war with the West," Major De Seversky continued. "Our Strategic Air Command has the capability to retaliate after any overt action against us by the Soviets.

"The real danger lies with ourselves. That danger is in dragging our feet in the development of nuclear power and the ability to match or surpass Russia's space program.

"If we go at the regrettably slow rate we have been proceeding, Russia, by 1962, will certainly be able to equal the striking power we now have in our superb Strategic Air Command.

"When Russia will have both ballistic missiles and the striking power of the Strategic Air Command, then the Bear will really throw his weight around and war will be more than a possibility, virtually a certainty."

[From the Washington Post]
SCHLESINGER TEST OF NEW A-WEAPONS

Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said yes-

terday the United States has been producing nuclear weapons throughout the test moratorium and should now see how they work.

Strauss suggested that this country resume nuclear testing now that the Russians have started up again.

In a copyrighted interview with U.S. News & World Report, the retired admiral said if there is any delay in American testing, "we ought to have our heads examined."

According to Strauss, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower had made up his mind last fall that he intended to resume nuclear testing. He said "his patience with the Russians had worn thin by that time."

But the victory of John F. Kennedy in the November elections presented Mr. Eisenhower "with a situation which made it impossible for him to resume our test program without tying the hands of his successor." Strauss said this was the proper course.

He said it was his belief that the Russians had been secretly testing during the moratorium that began in October 1958, although "I can't substantiate it—I cannot produce hard evidence."

He said no one could give an authoritative answer to the question of whether secret Russian testing could have endangered the American lead in nuclear weapons. However, he said "the fact remains that we have not been able to test any of our newer developments during this period, nor to proof-test any weapons that have been in our existing stockpile for 3 years and more."

Strauss emphasized that the moratorium has been on testing, not on production.

"The Soviets and we, and the British and French, for that matter, have continued to produce weapons during that period," he said.

Immediate U.S. testing is necessary, he declared, because "any new development in the way of weapons needs to be tested. You cannot go into the enterprise of manufacturing and stockpiling types of weapons whose effectiveness and reliability depend only on theory."

[From the New York Journal American, Sept. 1, 1961]

PAILING STILL OPPOSED—EXPERTS FAVOR TESTING

(By Frank Donoghue)

LOS ANGELES, September 1.—Taking the position that the United States must move ahead of the Soviet in atomic potentials, three of the Nation's leading nuclear experts urged here today that America meet Russia's superbomb challenge by resuming nuclear testing.

A fourth condemned a resumption of testing by the United States and other nations as possible motivation toward nuclear world war.

John A. McCone, former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, said the United States has no alternative but to resume atomic tests.

"I believe our security is at stake," he said. "Resumption of weapon testing is essential to the safety of our country and the free world."

Mr. McCone, now board chairman of the Joshua Hendy Corp. here, said the Russian announcement caught him by surprise.

Dr. Willard F. Libby, Nobel Prize-winning UCLA chemistry professor who previously held the view America should not resume nuclear testing, answered the Russian challenge by reversing his position and declaring this country should engage in a "nuclear crash program."

"It is very necessary that we keep our armaments ahead of Russia's," Dr. Libby declared. "Meanwhile, I hope President Kennedy makes the right decision. He has many factors to consider—facts which no other person has available. But whatever the President decides, we stand behind him."

Even more militant was the stand taken by Dr. Stafford Warren, dean of UCLA's medical school and world expert in the medical aspects of atomic fallout, who said:

"I believe we should resume testing immediately to insure we are not outflanked by Russia in weapons development."

"It now seems obvious that the Russian space program was largely directed at developing huge vehicles for their cumbersome nuclear devices. I believe we should not limit our testing to underground shots. We need to do some testing in the atmosphere."

Dr. Linus Pauling, long-time foe of nuclear testing, remained adamant in his opposition to such experiments and appealed to the Soviet Government to reconsider its decision to resume tests.

The Nobel Prize winner said at the California Institute of Technology he would continue to advocate that the United States continue to refrain from nuclear testing regardless of Russian action.

"I strongly condemn the militaristic action of any government that makes it harder to achieve general and complete disarmament," he said.

Mr. Speaker, the record is clear that one country after another, since World War II has fallen under the domination of the Russians who have denied human rights, dignity, freedom of speech, and the other human liberties to country after country as they fall into the Red sphere.

We had better wake up, America, and resume sufficient nuclear testing to assure that our fighting forces are equipped with the best tested weapons which our scientists are capable of producing before it is too late.

Anatomy of the Cold War

SPEECH

OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1961

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, America's awakening to the vital challenge thrust upon us by the international Communist conspiracy is one of the most significant and encouraging events of our time. But merely to be awakened to the danger is one thing. Handling it intelligently and effectively is another.

This requires a broad general understanding of who we are up against and what we are up against. It requires the relinquishment of many outdated concepts no longer applicable to the world situation today. It demands original, hard thinking to replace them with concepts that are realistic in relation to facts as they brutally are, not as we might wishfully think them to be.

For instance, we must accept the concept of a bipolar world in which the U.S.S.R. and the United States represent the poles. No longer is the world the "family of nations" conceived by late 19th and early 20th century political thinking. Nor do the so-called uncommitted nations of today possess power of sufficient strength, moral or physical, to sway these poles.

We must regard the international Communist conspiracy which opposes us

as first, the force described by Marx, Engels, and Lenin, plus second, all the considerable human and physical resources enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. The two are, in fact, in combination.

This discussion seeks to define and analyze only some of the background involved, only some of the strategy and tactics applicable, and only a few of the cold war techniques utilized to advance Communist objectives. Necessarily only a few, because altogether they are as vast as the problem itself. Hot war also is discussed. Necessarily because hot war and cold war are interrelated parts of the total conflict in which we find ourselves.

COMMUNISM'S GOAL: WORLD DOMINATION

The resolve of Soviet Communist leaders to extend their domination worldwide—with Moscow as the seat of authority—has remained unshaken for over four decades. There were periods when it was expedient for them not to press this determination because of some more urgent problem, as in World War II. But once they have dealt with a crisis, the Soviets waste no time in renewing their attack. There is current evidence of a desire by Chinese Communists to play a larger role in directing communism's expansion. Their leverage is growing as witnessed by the Communist bloc's intense ideological struggle over the peaceful coexistence policy. But, and though this may not always be the case, it is still Moscow, not Peiping, against which the West principally must calculate its dangers and erect its military and nonmilitary defenses to thwart the master plan to install a Communist government in every nation on earth, with all looking to Moscow for guidance.

COMMUNIST STRATEGY: TOTAL CONFLICT

Toward achieving its ends, Communist dogma dictates utilization of any means which are expedient, as long as the Soviet revolutionary base is not endangered. Military force is one instrument for carrying out this policy, and the Communists are inhibited by no moral restrictions from using it to gain their ends. To them, the important factor is that inadmissible risks must not be undertaken. To do so would constitute adventurism, a serious deviation from Communist ideology.

At the same time, if within the limits of the risks which Soviet leaders deemed wise to take, an opportunity presented itself to strike the United States a blow which would remove it as the chief obstacle to the Soviet goal, Soviet leaders would consider it a sin just as serious as the other deviation not to take advantage of the opportunity.

In short, Communist doctrine places on Communist leaders a constant responsibility to proceed by the most expeditious means possible and these may range from dropping pamphlets to dropping thermonuclear bombs. The degree of violence to be selected is that which can gain the most advantage with the least proportionate cost under the particular circumstances existing at the time of decision.

THE SPECTRUM OF CONFLICT

Thusly Communists fight toward their goal all the time over a spectrum of conflict which can span the full scope of human activities—from sports competition to thermonuclear war. They have no set time schedule for bringing this conflict to a successful conclusion. The Communists are patient, willing to accept temporary setbacks if necessary. They conceive the conflict as a protracted one and their patience in waging it is based on a confidence in the ultimate victory promised by Marxist-Lenin doctrines.

It is obvious that the spectrum of conflict divides itself into two major segments according to degrees of violence: military war and nonmilitary war—hot war and cold war. In turn, each segment resolves itself into sectors based on the same patterns of intensity.

Cold war in its present stylized spectrum ranges from scientific demonstrations, such as space efforts, propaganda, and economic competition, to military-political-humanitarian foreign aid, to presence of forces, as in East Germany, to threats of force, such as Khrushchev's talk of 100-megaton nuclear bombs, to assistance to engaged allies, as was given to Red China in the Korean war. In the same style hot war ranges from police action, to limited war, to graduated retaliation to unrestricted war. In a gray area between hot war and cold war fall such modern-day instruments of aggression as rioting, border incidents, and guerrilla warfare.

Fundamental to U.S. survival is, first recognizing we are engaged in this total, protracted conflict; and second, developing an irrevocable determination to win it. But that is only the beginning. We must organize ourselves to fight it as a major enterprise, on a scale for victory, with all the physical and moral resources at our command. We must never forget that the weapons employed against us are varied and limitless. Subversion, spying, sabotage, and diplomatic perfidy are but a few illustrations. We cannot concentrate exclusively on defending against just some of the weapons of Communist attack, leaving the ramparts unguarded elsewhere. We are faced with total conflict and we must fight that conflict in all its totality—on all the cold war fronts at all times, on all the hot war fronts if ever we must.

Moreover, we can never expect victory if we fight only defensively. We must take the initiative, bring the fight to the enemy's own home base in cold war just as we are prepared to do in hot war. Doing this involves risks and it involves escalating up the scale of violence whenever required. The risks so involved must always be calculated against the risks of not taking action of sufficient intensity to achieve our purposes. Often timidity is more risky, in the end, than boldness. In any event, our enemy must be convinced we treasure our freedom, our way of life, and our country sufficiently to take the degree of action necessary for preserving them. Otherwise he is left free to achieve his ends via the piecemeal surrender route of bluff, bluster, and blackmail.

DETERRING HOT WAR

The willingness and ability to fight the hottest kind of war, if survival depends upon it, feeds back into considerations regarding the taking of all kinds of actions less in degree of violence. This is because the hottest kind of war is the reference point from which decisions are calculated for the taking of all lesser military and nonmilitary actions in relations between nations.

During the Lebanon crisis the landing of U.S. Marines and presence of U.S. Naval Forces evidenced a U.S. determination and willingness to fight, if necessary, to keep the Communists from taking over this part of the world. The Soviets, in face of this clear evidence of intention to resist piecemeal surrender backed away. Put another way, they were deterred from pursuing the course of aggression in this area they had embarked upon. Had we not taken the risk of displaying this show of power, they could have achieved supremacy in the Mideast. The consequence of that would be to put us in a situation far more risky than proceeding as we did. By way of contrast, we failed to provide air cover for the Cuban invasion in the spring of 1961 even though the risk involved was small. As a consequence, Castro achieved even greater power over Cuba and the resulting situation is more risky than before.

The same principles apply to deterring Communist leaders from attempting to achieve their goals by starting all-out nuclear war and attacking the United States. Our deterrent system must plainly be capable of inflicting unacceptable damage on the enemy. If he believes we will use it for that purpose if he does attack, he will be deterred from doing so.

Like a parachute, the deterrent system must always work or disaster will follow. Its most obvious capability must be to accept whatever damage a Soviet first strike may inflict and still retain sufficient second strike capability to impose unacceptable damage on the Soviet homeland. It does not involve a capability merely to strike first. Nor does it require expenditures for a capability to strike second with vastly more destruction than needed to deter.

The very success of a system deterring all out nuclear war makes more likely the resort to lesser violence in the form of limited war and intensified cold war. Thus skeletonizing limited war conventional land, sea and air capability by overexpenditure on deterrence cannot be tolerated.

Neither can the important third front, nonmilitary warfare, be neglected if our overall defense posture is to succeed in thwarting Communist ambitions. We can freeze to death in cold war as easily as we can burn to death in a hot war.

In any event, the cost of creating and maintaining a deterrent force is extremely high. For the sake of our national economic health it is important that money is not spent unnecessarily in this direction.

WHAT WILL DETER THE SOVIETS?

Determining what will deter the Soviets can be learned from the answer to

another question: How much destruction to their homeland are Soviet leaders prepared to risk in order to achieve their ultimate goal if cold war methods do not succeed or, in their opinion, they are too slow?

Obviously, only the Soviet leaders themselves can answer that question. It is doubtful if even they have arrived at it precisely. It is likely that within limits the answer will vary from time to time because of the Communist doctrine holding that whatever is dictated by historical circumstances is true party line at any particular moment and shall be implemented.

Nevertheless we should be able to achieve an order of magnitude concept of the destruction they might be prepared to accept by examining Communist objective and doctrines, making historical comparisons, studying the writings and speeches of Soviet authorities and analyzing the progress which the Communists have made so far toward their goal.

It is clear that Soviet leaders, if it can be avoided, have no desire to become involved in nuclear war, either growing out of surprise attack or by escalation of limited war. Khrushchev often refers to the deadliness and horror of general nuclear war in his speeches. A leading Soviet military analyst, Maj. Gen. Nicolai A. Talensky recently wrote a widely publicized article pointing out the futility of resorting to nuclear war to decide political controversies.

How accurately such expression reflect Soviet military philosophy and how much they reflect the long standing Soviet propaganda campaign aimed at nuclear disarmament of the West cannot, of course, be determined. It would be dangerous error, in any event, to assume Soviet leaders would not make a sudden massive attack against the United States if their calculation of relative strength convinced them it could be done without serious risk of disaster to the Soviet revolutionary base.

Such a situation could arise if the relative balance between forces suddenly tipped in the Soviet's favor through some scientific or technological breakthrough. It could arise should the United States allow its deterrent system to deteriorate badly. It could arise if the U.S. position became so weakened by repeated cold war and limited war defeats that retaliation would be made quixotic and unbelievable. Our only security against surprise nuclear attack is balanced strength, which includes a retaliatory capacity so swift, so certain and so deadly it rules out the possibility. How deadly?

WHAT PUNISHMENT WILL SOVIETS ACCEPT?

What punishment would be too great to accept to achieve victory over us? While some contend there would be no victory in a general nuclear war, this is not the present Soviet view. In January, 1960, Khrushchev told the supreme Soviet that in such a war the U.S.S.R. would suffer heavy misfortune and sustain great loss of life, but it would survive because its territory is enormous and its population less concentrated in large

industrial centers than in many other countries. On the other hand, the West would find that it would be their last war, and it would be the end of capitalism.

One way of arriving at some understanding of how much destruction Soviet leaders might be willing to exchange for gaining their objective is by making historical comparisons. For one thing, the standard of living is substantially higher in the United States than in the Soviet Union, and the farther a civilization progresses from its primitive beginnings, the more value is placed on human life. Also, the continental United States has enjoyed nearly a century of stable government without suffering the consequences of invasion or attack by outside military forces. During this period the Russians have had a very violent nationwide revolution and civil war and have experienced extensive destruction of life and property during two world wars, as well as a costly and humiliating defeat in the Russ-Japanese war. What would deter them is not necessarily what would deter us.

Another factor which has bearing on our question is Soviet civil defense. Until late 1953, the Soviets made no preparation for civil defense in a nuclear war. Today their effort is the most extensive to be found anywhere in the world. The effort which the Soviet government has made in this direction indicates it takes a realistic attitude toward the possibility of Soviet participation in a general nuclear war. However, its objective should not be misconceived. There is no evidence of a newly acquired benevolence toward human life amongst Kremlin bosses greater than amongst western leaders in the ratio of Soviet to western civil defense efforts. A characteristic of communism is callousness toward human life. Primary interest is not in saving human lives per se, but in preserving the skills, so important to Soviet industry and strength, represented by them.

Nevertheless, assuming reasonable effectiveness of the civil defense program, the result is this: If concurrently with a Soviet first strike, 80 percent of the 50 million people in the largest 160 Soviet population centers is evacuated to non-target areas with reasonable fallout protection, casualties from nuclear retaliation would be cut from 50 million to 10 million—a factor of five.

Ten million lives is a large number, but, in U.S.S.R. experience, by no means a prohibitive or even a crippling price to pay to achieve important objectives. A study made in 1959 by Prof. Warren W. Eason of Princeton concluded that the Soviet Union suffered 25 million World War II casualties, about 13 percent of total population. This followed the purges of the 1920's and 1930's which accounted, by some estimates, for almost another 25 million deaths.

Physical damage of all kinds from Nazi military operations also was massive. In addition to nonindustrial losses, the official Soviet historical review of World War II estimates 40 percent of the U.S.S.R.'s industrial capacity was totally destroyed, a figure generally accepted by

Western students of the war's consequences.

Despite these huge losses of life and the enormous damage inflicted on the Soviet economy, the rate of production in the U.S.S.R. by 1950 was greater than at any time in its history. Even granting some increase on the value placed on human life by reason of improved living standards, it seems reasonable to assume that Soviet Communist leaders would accept punishment at least equivalent to World War II in exchange for eliminating the United States as a checkmate to their goal.

WHAT PUNISHMENT MUST UNITED STATES BE ABLE TO INFILCT?

Here then, is an absolute minimum limit for U.S. deterrent capability: A second strike ability to inflict damage equivalent to the combined effect of erasing 14 percent of the Soviet Union's population and 41 percent of its industrial capacity.

That these are damage equivalent figures and not the outline for a targeting pattern must be understood. Aside from the moral questions involved in threatening death to such large numbers of people, over 29 million in a population of some 209 million, the combination of civil defense and natural dispersal over 8½ million square miles of territory make attempting it utterly impractical.

For this reason a deterrent system targeted against population would not be believable and would fail to deter. Further, even if it were practical to carry out a death threat against 14 percent of Soviet citizens, there is no good reason to believe Soviet leaders would not willingly trade that many—or 15 or 20 or 50 percent or even more—if the deal guaranteed them world supremacy. Equally clear is the physical futility of basing deterrence on a major threat to the agricultural economy of this vast land stretching across two continents.

All this by no means implies that within the limits of peacetime budgets a steady, stable deterrent to Soviet button-pushers cannot be achieved. In the final analysis what Soviet leaders fear most is impairment of the means by which they seek to accomplish the Communist goal of world domination. Their principal instrumentalities for exercising power on the international scale are first, the Soviet military establishment, and second, the Soviet industrial economy. Consequently, a positive U.S. second strike capability targeted at crippling these to an unacceptable degree will effectively deter. Moreover, these are the targets within the U.S.S.R. particularly vulnerable to nuclear impairment by the present and projected combinations of manned aircraft and missile weapons systems making up U.S. strategic forces.

It would be necessary to utilize only a small portion of these forces to achieve the minimum damage figure discussed earlier. Just under 100 retaliatory missions would be needed to bring 60 percent of the U.S.S.R.'s industrial complexes under attack. Even assuming as many as one-third were turned back by Soviet defenses, the resulting destruction would still approximate 41 percent of all Soviet industrial capacity.

U.S. RETALIATORY CAPABILITY EFFECTIVELY DETERS

U.S. capability obviously goes far above that percentage. This is because an adequate, flexible transportation system is essential to any nation seeking to exercise the role of a major world power. It is a prerequisite for effective utilization of military forces and vital to bring in raw materials, supply power, and move out the finished goods of an influential industrial society.

The Soviet transportation system is characterized by an especially heavy reliance on railroads, 85 percent of all tonnage, compared to 50 percent for the United States. About 10 percent is moved on inland waterways and the remaining 5 percent by highways, pipelines, coastal shipping, and air transport combined. The estimated number of major centers fed by the national rail network is 160. Only 160 nuclear knock-out blows need be pressed home against this rail system at freely chosen, less defended locations to fragmentize the U.S.S.R.'s interdependent society into as many cutoff and isolated segments.

It is clear that U.S. strategic forces are fully capable of deterring Soviet leaders from initiating nuclear war. We possess the determination to strike back without hesitation and the capability of destroying that which they know they cannot afford to lose. The real question is how much more deterrent capability are we buying than we really need?

DETERRED FROM HOT WAR, SOVIETS WAGE COLD WAR

Thus, deterred from quick explosive victory, the Soviets and their allies in international communism have turned to measures short of all-out nuclear war to advance toward communism's goal. While carrying on a general nonmilitary offensive against the free world—aimed at weakening its physical ability as well as destroying its will to resist—on a geographical basis they are employing a three-prong strategy calculated to segment the free world and isolate its parts.

The prongs are thrusting:

First. Over the pole through Iceland and down the Atlantic—to be aided by the large submarine fleet—for the purpose of cutting off Europe from North America;

Second. Down from the soft underbelly, through the Mideast, into Africa and spanning the Atlantic to Cuba—to sever North from South America and Europe from the Far East; and

Third. Out from Communist China through Vietnam, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula, and hopefully turning the corner and proceeding up the Philippines and Japan—to cut off the Americas from the Far East and isolate India and Australasia.

The importance which Communist leaders attach to securing these geographical areas is evidenced by their willingness to escalate considerably up the scale of violence where they are concerned. Limited war by proxy in Korea, guerilla fighting in Laos, the revolution

in Cuba, civil disorders in Iraq, the Congo, and elsewhere, are examples.

Our enemy's successes using such techniques amply illustrate that our posture in these sectors of the spectrum of conflict is inadequate. Our limited war forces are seriously handicapped by lack of proper mobility, by obsolescence of conventional weapons and by a confusion with respect to the role of nuclear weapons. As to the latter, aside from whether or not nuclear weapons should be used in specific and particular limited war situation, there is no validity to the notion they can never be so used without inevitably resulting in escalation to all-out war. It simply does not follow that facing defeat in a limited nuclear war, a nation will choose to be decimated in an all-out one.

Because of the nature of nuclear warheads and the 15-year Communist propaganda campaign against them, to many, their use under any circumstances has been enshrouded in a calamity curtain which, if parted, they say, would mean the end of mankind. This is false. A legitimate distinction exists between strategic and tactical use of nuclear weapons, and, it is, whether the range of the delivery unit is within the rather sizable dimensions of today's battlefields or beyond.

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Peaceful coexistence is what Khrushchev chooses to call this present state of affairs. We call it cold war or non-military war. Khrushchev says it is merely a form of intense economic, political, and ideological struggle between the socialist camp and what he calls the aggressive forces of imperialism. This, he says, is a better way of achieving world communism than war. But what he means is that today it better advances the Communist cause to proceed by non-military warfare than it does by military warfare—tomorrow it may be different, if tomorrow's circumstances are different. Even under today's circumstances peaceful coexistence as waged by the Soviets must be understood as neither peaceful nor aimed at coexisting for one instant longer than necessary.

Except for all-out war between major powers, in the final analysis, it amounts to a no-holds-barred conflict for world domination played under Soviet ground rules.

One of these rules is that the world is divided into the peace zone—Communist territory—and the war zone—non-Communist territory. And the contest shall be carried on entirely in the war zone. Another is that all action to forward the Communist cause is just and any action to resist it is unjust. Thus, subversion and sabotage of free world institutions are Communist instruments of peaceful coexistence and revolts such as in Algeria and Latin America are encouraged under the guise of national liberation movements. These are deemed just acts and just wars, to be fully supported by the Kremlin.

Recent successes lend weight to Moscow's contention that their current policy is, indeed, a presently effective substitu-

tion of political-economic-psychological warfare for military force.

THE BERLIN CRISIS

The current Berlin crisis is a classic example of Communist strategy and tactics in waging cold war to gain their objectives. For months Khrushchev's truculent belligerency built up tensions over Berlin. Fear was fed on fear. Then with dramatic ruthlessness he torpedoed the Geneva A-test-ban talks and announced Soviet test resumption. He coupled this with terror talk of 100 million ton K-bombs—K for Khrushchev. All aimed at creating worldwide hysterical fear in hopes of exacting concessions which will give him control of Berlin as a step toward control of Germany as a step toward control of all Europe.

Why the Kremlin plays this bold game of nuclear blackmail is simple. It has little to do with Communist ideological abstractions and our resistance to it has little to do with democratic idealism. It is because Berlin is the political key. West Germany is the industrial lock. And West Europe is the economic gate to the world.

To control the world by force requires a superior economic-industrial base in support of arms. To control the world by economic domination requires a superior economic-industrial base in support of an unfaltering flow of capital goods and trade. By 1970 the estimated value of all goods and services, gross national product, and thus the most comprehensive measure of productive activity will be:

	Billions
West Europe	\$800
United States	740
Soviet bloc	630
Underdeveloped nations	300

Thus, the United States, plus West Europe, equals \$1,540 billion against Soviet bloc equals \$630 billion.

But, if the Soviet bloc can successfully use West Berlin as the key to West Germany, the lock, to gain access to the industrial capacity of West Europe, the power situation radically changes to the following:

The United States equals \$740 billion against Soviet bloc plus West Europe equals \$1,430 billion.

The Soviet Union now knows it cannot surpass West Europe and the United States in the industrial capacity needed to support an arms race or a protracted armed conflict.

The Soviet Union now knows it cannot, even by the most stringent denial—industrial growth without public consumption—match the combined economic resources of the United States and West Europe.

But the Soviet Union knows that with the industrial plant, economic resources, scientists and technicians of West Germany and West Europe it can control the world.

These are the stakes in the Berlin crisis. These are the reasons why Mr. Khrushchev intensifies the cold war to the hilt and threatens a nuclear holocaust. They are also the reasons why he will not go beyond the brink and start a

nuclear holocaust. If he does all Europe's industrial capacity will be reduced to ashes. There will be no \$800 billion gross national product of Europe to strengthen his empire. He must obtain these assets undamaged, in running order and with the people to run them. If we but keep our cold war wits and act accordingly, the crisis of Berlin can be passed without loss and without damage. Mr. Khrushchev will be relegated to another way and another day to seek his objectives.

COLD WAR

Unfortunately these cold war wits of ours I have mentioned are, at this point, neither sharp nor plentiful. Our enemy has 40 years leadtime in knowhow and experience in fighting cold war. There are many things we must do and do quickly, not only to surmount the crisis of Berlin, but other crises to come again and again in the future from aggressive actions by our relentless challenger.

I have mentioned that we must actually recognize we are now engaged in a conflict in which the stakes are freedom and national existence itself. This, the cold war, need not necessarily be a mere preliminary bout to a hotter main event. It could well be the main event itself and the loser will have no second chance. I have mentioned that we must develop an irrevocable determination to win this contest. Having developed it, we must broadcast that determination to the world and enlist the help of all men everywhere who cherish freedom in this great battle for its survival.

Americans are not unique in their desire for freedom, only in their vast power which causes people throughout the world to look to the United States for leadership in the contest to preserve it. These people, too, want to fight effectively in the common cause. They, too, have their worries, their doubts, their fears that the time of freedom is running short. But until the United States moves, and moves decisively, as a world leader should, others cannot be expected to go it alone in these battles.

As such a call to nonmilitary arms I recently introduced House Joint Resolution 517. It is patterned after the declaration of war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, but declares conflict rather than war. It states that the international Communist conspiracy has committed repeated acts of non-military aggression against us and our allies, formally declares the state of non-military conflict thus thrust upon us, authorizes the President to employ the entire power of the United States to carry on nonmilitary conflict, concluding: "and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

There are several important considerations that are often overlooked in discussing cold war and how to wage it that I now propose to touch upon.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE ENEMY

We must clearly identify the enemy. There are two U.S.S.R.'s. Only one is the enemy. U.S.S.R. B is the people, the country and its resources. It is not our

enemy. Country B is the poor country, the horsemeat country, which sometimes cannot even supply its capital city with food and fuel. Our enemy is U.S.S.R. A, the international Communist conspiracy of an elite few who have enslaved country B and extort from it the wherewithal to present the illusion of a large and powerful society and the false image of a new system to better mankind's lot.

In reality, country A is no stronger than country B. This we must understand ourselves. And to the people of U.S.S.R. B, China B and all the other B countries—the captive nations—we must drive home that they have friends outside the Iron Curtain who seek to share with them their freedom.

WHOLE THINKING

As a people we tend to cling to a kind of fragmentized thought process in international affairs which categorizes peace and war into two separable states, which, in fact, no longer exist. We live in a world which is neither at war in the classic definition of the word or at peace. It is in conflict—a new and deadly kind of conflict—and we must think in terms of its totality and the wide spectrum of actions over which it is being fought. The Reds do not make this mistake. They are realistic, if nothing else. Their thinking is as total and integrated as their objectives are clear and precise. Let us examine how this affected the postwar situation following both the World Wars.

World War I was carried on by the Allies as a purely military operation. Only after the Armistice, at Versailles, in 1919, was the problem of securing the peace faced. A cordon (sanitaire, or series of buffer states, came out of Versailles—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Jugoslavia, and the like. All to protect the Western European peninsula from what Sir Halford J. Mackinder so vividly described in terms of: "He who controls the Eurasian land mass controls the world island and thus controls the world."

In World War II—at the insistence of the United States and over the protests of Sir Winston Churchill—we of the West carried on the war in terms of no total military victory and unconditional military surrender. There was little or no thought of postwar problems and postwar strategy. The old World War I conventional thinking all over again. However, this time there was no Versailles to bail out postwar problems. The Soviet Union, with due regard for the totality of the spectrum of external relationships, while still in hot war was thinking whole—looking forward to postwar. It realistically secured these peripheral buffer zones to itself and satellized them. Thereby, both enhancing its own future defense and weakening the future position of its then temporary allies, but future protagonists.

Only both a great understanding on their part—and a great ignorance on our part—of the basics of national external relationships could underlie two such divergent courses of action. The best that can be said is that it presents us a clear lesson in facts of international life which we must learn and learn well.

CRITERION FOR SACRIFICE AND EXPENDITURE

There is, however, apparent from this fiasco one absolute criterion about which there can be no argument—only understanding—which, again, it appears that the Reds possess and we do not:

It is, simply: the efficacy with which a particular action will implement a nation's external objective should determine the amount of money and manpower to be expended upon it—not the irrelevant consideration of whether the action is being taken in time of "war" or time of "peace."

Our country will accept every sacrifice in resources, men and money when it comes to fighting a war; but because of our fragmented thinking and naive misconceptions about the implementation of our external objective, we irrationally tend toward the opposite extreme when there is no shooting going on.

This kind of inflexibility is not characteristic of the Kremlin. Not only in expenditure, but right down to Khrushchev's alternating smiles and frowns to probe our weaknesses, there is exhibited a quick effective flexibility. This, notwithstanding our fervent eagerness to accept a monolithic concept of the operations of the Communist apparatus.

We must learn that what will be achieved, not whether it is achieved during hot war or cold war, is the true standard for our efforts and sacrifice during the protracted conflict.

COMMUNIST AND FREE WORLD OBJECTIVES COMPARED

Now it becomes logical to examine what is to be achieved, and to compare the external objectives of the Communist world and our own. Perhaps real understanding of the contrasts here is as important as anything else toward achieving understanding of what we are against and how to go about combating it.

In briefest form, these objective can be summarized this way: Ours, peace and friendship in freedom; theirs, peace and friendship in communism.

Only a word of difference—but they are poles apart. One states a positive objective, the other a negative one. One states an indefinable objective, the other a definable one.

Since Karl Marx first put pen to paper, double meanings for stock words and phrases have been standard tools in Communist dialectic. I have purposely stated these objectives in these double meaning words to reemphasize the tricky business of Red rhetoric which we must beware.

Light was shed on a facet of our problem by former President Eisenhower in his 1960 state of the Union message by saying:

We live in a sea of semantic disorder in which old labels no longer faithfully describe. Police states are called people's democracies. Armed conquest of free people is called liberation. Such slippery slogans make more difficult the problem of communicating true faith, facts, and beliefs.

To the former President's list we can surely add the word "democracy" which means "communism" to the Communists and the opposite to us. Indeed, today, such fundamental words as "peace,"

"friendship," "war," and many others are no longer meaningful without rather extensive qualification.

Peace has come to mean, rather than a state of tranquillity amongst nations, a misty goal as legendary as the Seven Cities of Cibola. In terms of relationships between nations, friendship hardly can be recognized as meaning what the dictionary describes as a "mutual regard cherished by kindred minds." "War" must be qualified by the adjectives "hot" and "cold" and the line between tension, strife, and war is illusory.

When Nikita Khrushchev came to this country in 1959 seeking "peace and friendship" he blew up a considerable storm on this "sea of semantic disorder." Freely translated, this is what he meant when he talked of seeking "peace and friendship" with the United States:

I seek a Communist United States of America. Our dogma says capitalism breeds wars. Tear up your capitalistic Constitution, turn Communist, and we'll have peace. One doesn't oppose his friend's desire. We desire to rule the world. Be friendly—stop bucking us.

On another occasion the Red dictator summed up communistic objectives more bluntly and less dialectically in the phrase: "We will bury you."

That is a clearly stated and certain objective, if ever there was one. The clarity with which it can be stated is of obvious value in the day-to-day, week-to-week, month-to-month, year-to-year selection of techniques and actions to implement it.

MORALITIES

Further, Communist rational places no moral restrictions whatsoever on their selection of these techniques and actions. Starting with the premise that capitalism breeds wars and thus must be rooted out and destroyed to achieve peace—anything, however immoral in and of itself, when used to this end is moral. Lying, cheating, betrayal, murder—the entire list of perfidies—are thus approved weapons in the Communist arsenal, to be used freely whenever, wherever, and however they will implement its objectives.

By way of contrast, our own external objectives basically represent attainment for all mankind those enlightened precepts of morality, freedom, dignity of the individual, inherent human rights, and so on that can hardly be defined other than as: "The best and highest values which Western civilization have to offer."

Because of the inherently nebulous nature of our objectives, they are incapable of precise definition. As a consequence, selection of techniques and actions to implement them can never be accomplished with calculated precision.

And, because of the moral characteristics of these objectives, we are limited in selecting means to implement them which in and of themselves fall within the range of Western civilization's standards for individual and national morality.

The advantage of precise objectives and unlimited choice in means in achieving them is great.

NEGATIVISM

Nor can the advantages of conducting a negative campaign be underestimated. It is always easier to criticise, tear down, and destroy than it is to accomplish constructive action. Watch the way the prosperity issue is handled in political campaigns—it is not so much a positive promise of a chicken in every pot as it is a negative warning of "no chicken in the pot if you elect the other fellow instead of me." Millions of dollars of a certain toothpaste have been sold not on the merits of the product, but upon the demerits of having bad breath. The slogan about "a thinking man's cigarette" is not a positive appeal to the intellectuals—there are too few of them for a mass market—it is a negative warning not to be tagged as stupid for dragging out somebody else's brand.

In short, the contrast between the Communist and the freedom in terms of objectives and techniques and actions to implement them is simply this:

Communism: Clearly defined negative objective. No restriction on techniques and actions for implementation.

Free world: Nebulously defined positive objective. Restrictions on techniques and actions for implementation.

Understanding our problem thus requires recognition that we start out with these unavoidable handicaps:

First, imprecision of objectives; second, to restriction on implementation; third, the extra burden of positiveness.

Although the foregoing handicaps are unavoidable, there are very many courses of cold war action that we are not restricted from taking, should be taking, but, because of our generally fuzzy conception of what we are up against, we are not taking. For example:

CIVIL DEFENSE A COLD WAR WEAPON

Earlier the very substantial Soviet civil defense effort was mentioned. It was estimated to be sufficiently effective to enable them to reduce casualties by 80 percent in case the Soviet homeland suffers attack.

Thus Soviet civil defense constitutes a major dulling of the deterrence capability of our retaliatory bomber and missile strikeback forces. That is, it makes it less costly for the Soviets to initiate war and thus operates as a factor encouraging them to do so. This situation also presents monumental possibilities in connection with nuclear blackmail. This is adequately illustrated by hypothesizing a full-scale Soviet civil defense evacuation timed in coordination with an "or else" ultimatum, taken in context of our own daily 5 to 7 p.m. metropolitan area evacuation problems.

Civil defense is thus, in fact, a cold war weapon of equivalent value to say, the DEW line-Pinetree line warning systems and anti-missile missiles. But contrast our "bit-thinking" relative expenditures on civil defense in comparison to these warning systems. Moreover, civil defense is a moral type of action which is not denied to us. Falling to recognize its cold war possibilities, we have almost completely neglected it and given our challenger a decisive advantage on this rampart of the total conflict.

During the hearings in 1959 the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy attempted to estimate the effect on the United States should we suffer a surprise nuclear attack totaling 1,500 megatons. It found that 60 million U.S. casualties would result—one-third of our population—48 million killed and 12 million injured. Yet, at the same hearings a Navy scientist testified that simple fallout shelters giving protection against nuclear radiation by a factor of 1,000 can be built at a cost of only \$100 per person. These would be sufficient, he estimated, to avoid two out of every three of the hypothesized casualties.

In short, for just 1 year's cost of the U.S. farm subsidy program, \$6 billion, shelters could be built that would prevent 40 million surprise attack casualties—avoid 32 million deaths and 8 million injuries. Coupled with workable evacuation procedures, this 66½ percent avoidance of casualty rate could well be upped to the 80-percent figure I have estimated for the U.S.S.R. civil defense program.

I leave you to your own speculation how far adrift in the sea of semantic disorder we are when we take civil defense to mean only what the dictionary may define the words to mean. I also leave to your speculation how great a part our reserve forces, marking time in almost every city and hamlet of our country, could play in our total effort; vis-à-vis, the international Communist threat if they were realistically put to work preparing an adequate U.S. civil defense effort.

A good deal of resistance to spending money on civil defense as well as some of the other necessary actions we must take for survival stems from those who argue that thermonuclear war is neither believable nor feasible, so basing any efforts on the possibility of it occurring are senseless. Resistance also comes for others who argue that such a war would be so terribly destructive that we should surrender rather than fight it. In short, they say, "it is better to be Red than dead." It is now my purpose to expose the fallacies of these arguments.

BELIEVABILITY OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR

We may quite agree that thermonuclear war is horrible to contemplate and that every intelligent effort should be made to avoid it. But it is feasible and unless we are willing to submit to nuclear blackmail and capitulate to the Communists, we must so regard it.

This is founded on my earlier mention that the believability of a nation either initiating or accepting the most violent action, unrestricted war, underpins first, the effectiveness of any less violent steps toward implementing national objectives; and second, the capability to resist nuclear or other blackmail.

It is obvious that a less violent degree of action could not succeed in implementing an objective of the U.S.S.R. if the United States knows it can threaten to resist with only one higher degree of violence and thereby cause the U.S.S.R. to back down.

By like token, the United States could never thwart the U.S.S.R.'s implementation of a national objective, say control

of the Mideast, if the U.S.S.R. knows that all it has to engage in is a little blackmail by threatening more heat than we will risk.

Within the recent past: first, the Rockefeller study concluded that the possibility of nuclear war must be faced. Second, hundreds of Russian military books and articles translated by the Pentagon all reveal the U.S.S.R. thinks in such terms as a matter of course. Third, a Johns Hopkins University study for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee warns that the United States is open to nuclear attack. Fourth, Congress appropriated almost \$45 billion for national defense, which included substantial amounts for maintaining our own nuclear arsenal operative.

FEASIBILITY OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR

Mathematician Herman Kahn recently completed a 2-year study for the Rand Corp. and concluded that thermonuclear war is feasible.

The facts and assumptions on which Dr. Kahn reached his decision were corroborated fully during our Joint Atomic Committee hearings last year which took several days' testimony from expert witnesses regarding the effect of a hypothesized nuclear attack on the United States followed by our nuclear retaliation against the attacker.

Briefly, the most pertinent thermonuclear war facts are these:

Genetic effects: An increase in children born seriously defective of about 25 percent from the current level of 4 per 100 of all births to 5 per 100. This is a large penalty since it would have to be paid through 30 to 40 generations. But it is far from annihilation.

Medical problems: Bone cancer, leukemia, and other life-shortening effects of internal and external radiation would amount to 1 to 2 years for lighter exposures and 5 to 10 years for heavier exposures. In any case, life will go on.

Economic recuperation: Assuming casualties in the 60 million range and semitotal physical destruction of the 53 standard metropolitan areas, expect full recuperation; that is, restoration of immediate preattack gross national product within 5 to 10 years. This is far from national suicide.

Conclusion: So much for feasibility. It exists, as does believability.

BETTER RED THAN DEAD?

Disposing of the depressingly cowardly and unrealistic "better Red than dead" philosophy requires us to get out of the rut of the 1,500 megaton, mass-destruction Hollywood movie script—congressional hearing's pattern for a moment and think about some other possibilities should the Communists really decide the day has come to push the button.

Hypothesized wars are never fought. No actual war ever has been carried on in the manner previously predicted. Casualty figures are statistics. Statistics always apply to the other fellow, not to you or me. With these truisms in mind, I will indulge in a little hypothesizing myself in order to illustrate a means of getting down to an individual, personal answer to the question: Would I be better off Red than dead—or does my survival still depend on the intelli-

gent, effective, and protracted conduct of survival efforts for my free country?

A wholly depopulated, totally destroyed United States would serve only one Communist purpose: Elimination of the opposite pole of a bipolar world and accomplish their one world, a Communist one, objective. But it would be done at the price of denying to them a number of things they could put to advantageous use. Recalling their attribute of whole thinking, we should at least contemplate other possibilities for action they may be considering in their strategic thoughts.

For instance, they could utilize the production of our machine tool factories, our steel furnaces, and certain of our other industrial capacities. All, of course, assuming selected trained slave labor survived to operate them. They do not need our oil or chemical production, for example, but they would be glad to dismantle the undamaged plants and haul them back for use in their own country as they did with so many German factories. I suppose quite an inventory could be made—and probably has been made in the Kremlin—along these lines.

HYPOTHESIZED COMMUNIST ATTACK

Assuming so, the Soviet move might well be one calculated to induce surrender with the least possible material damage and personnel casualties, than to go about the business of mass murder and destruction on a selective basis afterward.

It might go something like this:

Strike terror with a few nuclear bombs—the horrors of nuclear war propaganda background already has been laid for that—but forgo the all-out attack. Damage communication facilities as little as possible so that where panic is created, it can be communicated elsewhere and infect other parts of the country. Delve into the unknown, it is always more terrifying than the known. Strange, horrifying and morale cracking nerve gases might be released by infiltrated saboteurs and fifth columnists. Shockingly hideous physical and psychological illnesses might be induced by germ warfare. Avoid destruction of Washington, D.C., so a Government will exist to surrender as panic, terror, and hysteria mount in increasing crescendo to demand it.

Then follow with a military occupation to carry out what, for lack of a better name, I call selective genocide. Genocide is defined as the systematic extermination of whole racial, political, and cultural groups. Here we are dealing with such a systematic extermination as it applies to:

First. Occupational groups which do not contribute to the needs of the Communists;

Second. Nonproductive persons; and

Third. All persons philosophically hostile to the regime.

Selective genocide was carried out ruthlessly in Russia itself when the Communist seized power. It happened in China. It happened in Hungary. It is an accepted Communist power technique and would certainly be used if they took over here.

The pattern is all too clear. In the initial phases they send agents out to stir up resistance movements and march the nonconformists against prepositioned guns and tanks as they did in Budapest. That does a pretty complete, quick, and dirty job of getting rid of most potential antigovernment leadership. They dump the ill, the aged, the insane, all the military and like groups into concentration camps where starvation and disease soon eliminate them. Lawyers, ministers, teachers, farmers always go this way, too, when the Reds take over. No bankers, insurance men, advertising executives, newspapermen, or even file clerks would be required by the Red regime, so they would be exterminated, too. Scientists and engineers could look forward to the same fate suffered by their German counterparts following World War II. Not many slave doctors would be needed either, to tend the few slave laborers left operating plants and facilities of value to the conqueror.

INDIVIDUAL'S SURVIVAL TEST UNDER COMMUNISM

This hypothecation of mass murder could go on and on. I think I have said enough as preface to the proposition that all you need to do to estimate your chance of survival if the Reds ever took over is honestly to answer the questions: Is what I think OK with the Communists? Is what I do any value in a Communist regime?

Think it over.

IF THE REDS TOOK OVER: U.S. CASUALTY ESTIMATES

I have tried estimates for this from population employment statistics, and when you include the family along with the employed person, which you must do, and count about 10 million deaths from the initial bombs, nerve gas, germ warfare, and the like, the total U.S. casualties starts at a low of around 60 million and runs as high as 100 million dead within 12 months following a Red takeover.

Americans have a personal stake in this thing all right—it is their lives. Even if the Communists took over without firing a shot, there still would not be a choice between being "Red" or "dead." The sooner we understand it the better. The price tag on surrender in terms of lives, freedom, and every other way is much greater than the price tag on fighting and winning the protracted conflict.

But, say some, there is a third alternative to fighting or surrender that is open to us and should be used. It is the alternative of negotiation. We should negotiate out our differences with the Communists. It is true that ordinary negotiation is a third alternative. But only in instances where both sides are willing to negotiate, willing to forgo some of their demands as a price for peaceful settlement, and willing to keep the promises made. Although Communists are willing to negotiate, they are seldom willing to negotiate at any cost which involves forgoing their ultimate goal of world domination. In fact, they have, since the beginning, pursued a calculated course of insincere negotiation wherever it would forward that goal.

This is not to say that no negotiation at all is possible, but to warn that only is it possible in those limited cases where some factor in addition to good faith alone is present to compel Communists to keep their treaty promises.

TREATY VIOLATION

Summed up masterfully by the distinguished international lawyer, Adm. Chester Ward, the Communist philosophy on treaties is this:

Communist dogma insists that promises, like piecrust, are made to be broken. Whom the Communists would destroy, they first invite to coexist, and offer a nonaggression pact.

In its 40-year history, the Soviet Union has signed over 2,000 agreements with non-Communist governments. It is safe to say that those remaining unbroken by the Kremlin are only those which expediency has not yet dictated the breaking. Last summer I prepared an illustrative table of only some of the more important of these treaty violations. It took six legal size, single-spaced pages to list them. If nothing else, it indicates the order of magnitude of treaty violations as a device for Communist aggrandizement.

Treaty violation, as practiced by the Communists, has two facets:

First. The conventional breach of existing treaties whenever, because of changed circumstances, they no longer serve its current purpose; and

Second. The more Machiavellian practice of deliberately seeking treaties involving immediate concessions by the non-Communist signatory in exchange for delayed Communist concessions which are subsequently avoided by formal or informal treaty violation at time performance is called for.

Such Communist diplomatic perfidy is a regrettable fact of international life that cannot safely be ignored. It must be recognized as a dangerous pitfall in any and all negotiations between East and West. It must be accepted as a limitation on talks, conferences, and negotiations as a means toward achieving a stable world order, based on respect for, and conformity with, international law.

Realistically citing the demonstrated disregard by the Communists of their pledges as one of the greatest obstacles to success in substituting the rule of law for rule by force, former President Eisenhower declared a basic rule for Western self-preservation in his 1959 State of the Union message by saying:

We have learned the bitter lesson that international agreements, historically considered by us as sacred, are regarded in Communist doctrine and in practice to be mere scraps of paper. As a consequence, we can have no confidence in any treaty to which the Communists are a party, except where such a treaty provides within itself for self-enforcing mechanisms.

The inspection—self-enforcement procedures Eisenhower called for are necessary because the process of negotiation and agreement inherently involves concessions. Unless matched by equivalent Communist bloc concessions any Western concessions can represent only steps away from, not toward, the goal of successful conclusion of the protracted con-

flict for they would constitute a further whittling away of an already weakened Western position.

Equivalency, however, is not measured by the paper magnitude of mutual concessions. Concessions by the Soviet bloc must be self-enforcing upon them. Unless this is so, they will never be honored to the impediment of the advancement of international communism. The quid pro quo of the agreement's words is an illusion without this inherent safeguard. Without it, no agreement "relaxing tensions" as a "first step" toward peace, as the emotional agreement goes, is a step toward peace as the West understands it. It is a step toward peace as the Hungarian freedom fighters were savagely taught it.

INTERNATIONAL LAW CONCEPTS CONTRASTED

As the West understands it, the solemn observance of international obligations is the backbone of international law and underlies settlement of differences between nations without resort to war. As the Communists understand it, the timely breach of international obligations is simply another expedient weapon in their protracted conflict arsenal, and international law is only a "shell game" for playing on a worldwide scale.

This is the basis of Stalin's observation regarding relations with non-Communist countries that:

Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.

And from the standpoint of Western concepts of morality, it is the basis for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's evaluation:

You must be a liar, a cheat, and probably a spy before you can represent a Communist nation in international diplomacy. You must have no more regard for honor when you sign an agreement on behalf of your country than a forger does when he puts a name on a check.

Communist contempt for international law and decency is the theoretical and practical basis on which Red Army commissars, despite promise of safe conduct, arrested and executed the leaders of the Hungarian revolution while ostensibly negotiating an armistice.

NEGATORY PROPAGANDA

With the Hungarian example in mind, we reach a point where negatory propaganda can be defined and illustrated using the nuclear-test-ban issue as an example.

By negatory propaganda I seek to describe a technique aimed at negating use by your opponent of a device or weapon of value to him by propaganda aimed at creating such intense public opinion against its use, that it is in fact denied or negated.

BAN THE BOMB

For a period following 1945 the United States, only, possessed nuclear capacity. We had a weapon which could overcome the Communist bloc's great military superiority in terms of conventional arms and armaments. As a consequence, to deny us use of the weapon, and thus the superiority, the Kremlin and Red agents everywhere propagandized the world on the alleged horrors which would stem from use of the weapons. Many

well-intentioned non-Communists became inadvertent allies of the Communists by taking up the ban-the-bomb hue and cry. The propaganda did, in fact, negate our use of nuclear weapons in Korea. This cost us dearly in both lives and effort.

The Communists adopted a two-step technique by directing major propaganda efforts first against nuclear testing. Strontium-90 was made a household word and its terribly crippling effects milked right down inside the tender bones of newborn babes sucking at their mothers' breasts. All to the end of banning tests of the bomb because that is too horrible, and then, when that is accomplished ban the bombs themselves with the argument: "If they are too horrible to test, they are too horrible to use."

But while feverishly denouncing nuclear weapons, the Soviets mounted a massive effort to achieve them. They did so by the early 1950's. This did not change their line or alter their efforts, however, because denial to the West of the use of nuclear weapons still is still an obvious way to tilt the balance of power to their direction.

Their gigantic propaganda campaign raged on with consummate skill right up until the recent moment when it became more advantageous to them to torpedo the Geneva A-test ban talks and resume atmospheric testing than it was to keep the talks going and stall us from improving our own defensive weapons stockpile. Revelation to the world of their total hypocrisy by firing off a series of tests—obviously in long preparation under cloak of the Geneva talks—was a small price to pay for the advantages they gain thereby.

An obvious advantage is the jump it will give the Soviets over the West in nuclear weaponry. A less obvious, but perhaps greater advantage calculated by Kremlin minds is nuclear blackmail in connection with the Berlin crisis. Coupled with the already high tensions generated by Berlin, "terror talk" of a 100-megaton super-bomb plus new fall-out in the atmosphere is supposed to generate such hysteria in the world that concessions to the Reds will come out of negotiations over the issue.

Aside from the quite apparent fact that the only way to handle blackmail is to resist it and the only way to surmount a bluff is to call it, there is a more basic lesson we must learn from the 2½-year test-ban fiasco. It is: The moral issue is not the type of weapons which the free nations must stock in their arsenals to preserve freedom and the rich heritage of Western civilization. The issue is: The morality of stripping those arsenals, imperiling that civilization and relegating its millions of souls to mass murder or to the slavery of the communists.

Whether we surrender in one lump sum or are propagandized and blackmailed into it on the installment plan, the result is the same.

FREE WORLD PROPAGANDA

There are many who observe these Communist propaganda efforts, their successes, and say if only we spent more money on our own propaganda overseas

they could be turned back. True, our efforts can and should be stepped up. But we must accept the fact that our own propaganda efforts cannot, in the short term at least, produce results as impressive as theirs simply because theirs is based on lies, exaggerations and deceptions rather than upon truth. Truth is by far the greater power, but by far the more difficult and time consuming to propagate. The standards of morality by which we must gage our actions limits us to the truth.

Further, as to areas behind the Iron Curtain, we are under additional handicaps to the transmission of information. First, the Iron Curtain blocks communication in both directions. Second, neither world public opinion nor internal public opinion is an appreciable factor in the decisionmaking process of the Communist masters. Third, even if you overcome physical barriers to communication with people behind the Iron Curtain, there is still a psychological barrier to surmount. It stems from the fact that most of the population has come to adulthood since communism took over. Large gaps in public understanding and knowledge exist which cannot be spanned by the kind of appeals effective with Western minds. Their policy of brainwashing from birth to death often has so twisted truth and history that counterappeals must be developed from that specialized frame of reference.

A personal illustration concerning this last statement: While in Russia in 1959 I attempted to discuss the brutalities committed by the Red army in Hungary. No Russian ever heard of them, nor would any believe what I said. Yet all would tell you for hours how the "brutal, beastial, U.S. Marines aggressed against the defenseless people of Lebanon at the behest of Wall Street millionaires." They also told me again and again that the United States was blocking a nuclear test ban treaty by demanding that it include inspection and enforcement procedures to insure compliance. "The U.S.S.R.," they told me with straight faces, "always lives up to its treaties."

SUBVERSION

Subversion is one of communism's most potent cold war techniques and is practiced all the time, everywhere. What we must keep in mind is that it is only one of many techniques, however. Nor is it even as potent a weapon for the Communists, within the United States, at least, as our own general lack of understanding of what they want and how they are going about getting it. I recently suggested that the President order a good course on "Communism and How To Fight It" prepared and taught to every person in Government from himself on down. Passing the course would be required before any Government employee could draw his paycheck. The course would also be available to the public generally. This step alone would obviate a necessity many have suggested for investigating the State Department or any other Department of Government—where in my belief ignorance is a hundred times more responsible for the inept conduct of our defense against communism than are subversion and dis-

loyalty. This ruthless, resourceful determined enemy cannot be combatted effectively unless Americans know its true identity and understand the way it fights.

LATIN AMERICA

The real danger from subversion is in less developed areas, Latin America, for instance, where communism is attempting to leapfrog the Atlantic and take over countries both by infiltration of existing governments and by seizing control of liberal revolutionary movements. Each year hundreds of Latins receive revolutionary training in Moscow and are sent back to work ceaselessly to replace lawful government with regimes dominated and controlled by international communism. In connection with Cuba in particular and Latin America in general the following seven-point program is suggested:

First. Take a firm stand against Communist expansion, then tell and show the world we mean what we say—that the Monroe Doctrine is not dead.

Second. Declare the Western Hemisphere to be a peace zone, and tell the world we mean to keep it that way through use of national power, if necessary.

Third. Declare all Communist war material, including fuel, as contraband and prohibit its shipment into the peace zone.

Fourth. Use national power to send back, jettison, or seize all contraband sent into the peace zone.

Fifth. Adopt as U.S. policy the ousting of Castro's Communist dictatorship from Cuba, and enlist active support from anti-Castro and anti-Communist forces in Latin America to help us get the job done.

Sixth. Develop and expedite a tailor-made information program for our hemisphere which makes it clear that we will not tolerate guerrilla invasions and power seizures of Latin American countries by Cuban or other Communist forces, or Communist expansion of any kind.

Seventh. Use our national power to the extent and in the manner required to free the Cuban people and give them the right of self-determination.

In order to implement the first four points mentioned above I have introduced House Joint Resolution 524, declaring Communist arms and munitions contraband in the Western Hemisphere and making provisions to enforce the same.

ORGANIZATION FOR HOT WAR

Our present military structure—Army, Navy, Air Force—coordinated at the Department of Defense and Joint Chiefs of Staff level, represents an effective overall organization for waging hot war. Because of its effectiveness it actually deters hot war. Our military leaders are skilled and knowledgeable. They do the best possible job with the hardware and forces at their command.

I do not agree with Maj. Alexander de Seversky's contention that the services should be merged and overriding emphasis placed on airpower for delivery of massive nuclear destruction. That would limit us to a choice between

nuclear holocaust and surrender—an inherently hopeless set of alternatives which would merely afford the "better Red than dead" propagandists more chance to spread their poison. With properly balanced military forces we can control and deter all-out nuclear war. Then, with proper organization for nonmilitary war—cold war—we can achieve victories instead of defeats in this area.

ORGANIZATION FOR COLD WAR

But, in contrast to our splendid organization for hot war, we are almost totally unorganized to wage and win cold war.

It would be madness to attempt to fight a military war without national strategy, without a top-level command, without war plans, without offenses and planned defenses, without mobilizing the national effort and without appealing to the patriotism of our people to work, to sacrifice, and to win. Yet, without any of these things, we are engaged in a new, strange, and deadly kind of war which we are not winning. It is our clear duty to establish the organization we need to fight this kind of war, to mobilize our people and our resources, and to embark on the long, difficult road toward victory.

This effort involves economics, diplomacy, intelligence, science, psychology—all the phases of human activity short of military operations between major powers. The effort required goes far beyond the State Department or any other department of Government—far beyond the formal government even—it sweeps across our whole society.

The President alone has the broad power and control over the wide range of functions which must be organized, carried on, timed, coordinated and pushed to overall success to meet the enemy and overcome it. At the top, with the President's daily attention, must be the national nerve center and command post. Call it the Strategic and Tactical Office of the President—Stop. Here at Comstop, in the White House itself, stopping communism must be a 24-hour-a-day operation for as long as it takes to win.

Here are just a few of the activities that must feed to and from Comstop:

National strategy and tactics, military and nonmilitary strategy and tactics, intelligence, political operations, diplomatic moves, labor and industrial mobilization, economic operations, finance, agricultural and commercial functions, covert and overt international operations, cover and deception, informational and cultural programs, ideological positions, psychological warfare, military liaison, posture evaluation and a host of others.

All these operations must be tied together constantly—orchestrated like a symphony. Each must be run by managers who are themselves knowledgeable in the political, strategic, and psychological nuances of nonmilitary war. Command of these activities requires as great a skill as military command. We must quickly train in our universities and elsewhere the knowledgeable Amer-

icans needed to officer and man this fourth force in our defense.

It should be reemphasized that Com- stop must not only defend against actions the Soviets mount in what they regard as the war zone, but must, if we are ever to win, carry the fight into their peace zone. Within the Communist empire are countless areas of weakness and possible internal strife. Brig. Gen. David Sarnoff in urging former President Eisenhower to wage cold war and turn Moscow's own weapons against world communism said: "Our potential fifth column is greater by millions than the enemy's."

CONCLUSION

Concluding a discussion of this nature and extent by attempting a summary would be futile. I have given little more than a skeleton outline of the dangers we face and what we must do to surmount them. So I will reiterate only that we must constantly deter hot war by being capable of fighting and winning it, if necessary, and we must declare the nonmilitary war and mobilize all our physical and material resources to win it.

All this will take the highest and best our generation of Americans has to offer its country. Let us take faith from the courage and wisdom of the men who founded our country and made her great. If we, today, but possess equal courage and wisdom—and I firmly believe we do—there is no domestic problem we cannot solve nor foreign force we need ever fear.

Secretary Freeman Lays It on the Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

MR. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on September 6, the *Dairy Record* carried a forthright editorial on Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's stand on my national milk sanitation bill. The *Dairy Record* is well known as a fair and impartial spokesman for the dairy industry. Under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include that editorial in the RECORD:

FREEMAN LAYS IT ON THE LINE

To his everlasting credit, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman cast political caution to the winds when he testified on the national milk sanitation bill before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. He laid it coldly on the line that the legislation would eliminate the opportunity to misuse milk sanitation programs as economic trade barriers, and he stated that there is considerable evidence indicating that the milk sanitation regulations of many States and municipalities frequently are used to obstruct the movement of milk of high sanitary quality in interstate commerce.

Secretary Freeman did not sidestep the issue; rather he met it head on and forthrightly told members of the committee that the old arguments used by opponents of the measure that their milk sanitation require-

ments are far more strict than the model milk ordinance and code adopted by the U.S. Public Health Service are not substantiated by the facts. He pointed out that 36 States and over 1,900 local jurisdictions, including a number of large cities, have regulations which are based on the model code.

As proof he submitted a comparison of requirements set up in the code and those of several States where producer organizations have been most vociferous in their opposition to the Milk Sanitation Act.

In New York State, for example, where producer organizations in a tizzy of self-righteous indignation have placed themselves on a quality pedestal, the milk laws generally follow the basic requirements of the USPHS code although two-compartment wash vats, hand washing facilities and bacterial rinsing of milkers' hands are not required as they are in the model code. Neither do the New York regulations include many requirements which the USPHS considers necessary for pasteurization and protection of milk from contamination. The New York laws do not require easily cleanable construction of walls and floors, effective screening during fly season or a separate receiving room for raw milk. The code is quite specific on these requirements. The bacterial counts specified in the New York regulations for raw milk and pasteurized milk are identical with those of the code.

The New York law requires that farms and plants be inspected by industry initially and at least annually thereafter. Samples of raw and pasteurized milk are required to be obtained and examined by the processor at intervals of not more than 3 months. In contrast, the USPHS code requires at least one inspection of each farm and each plant every 6 months with followups on violations. Laboratory examination is to be performed at a minimum frequency of at least four samples every 6 months and in the case of raw milk, industry inspection and laboratory examinations are only supplementary to official inspections and examinations.

New Jersey is another State that has been rather haughty concerning its stiff requirements. Yet, the New Jersey laws do not include regulations covering requirements for indicating and recording thermometers, leak protector inlet and outlet valves on pasteurization vats and stops on pasteurization vat outlet valves. The bacterial standard for raw milk for pasteurization is 150,000 per milliliter for producers shipping in cans and 50,000 per milliliter for those using bulk tanks. The USPHS code specializes 200,000 per milliliter for raw milk. The New Jersey bacterial standard for pasteurized milk is identical with the model code or in other words, 30,000 per milliliter when delivered to the consumer. The New Jersey regulations do not specify the frequency of inspection of producer facilities and milk plants. Neither are there specific requirements as to the frequency of laboratory examinations.

The Secretary stated unequivocally that there is considerable evidence that indicates that milk sanitation regulations of States and municipalities "frequently are used to obstruct the movement of milk of high sanitary quality in interstate commerce." He went even further and pointed out that the claim made by opponents of the Milk Sanitation Act that a number of States have higher sanitation standards than those recommended by the USPHS is not supported by the facts and that actually the health of consumers of milk will be more effectively protected if the legislation is passed.

Secretary Freeman presented a strong case for the bill. In view of his testimony and the endorsement and backing of the American Public Health Association, the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, the conference of State Sanitary Engineers and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, it is hard to understand how

the Interstate Commerce Committee of the House can do anything else but approve the Sanitation Act with a recommendation of passage. If it does not take such action, one can only conclude that politics are paramount and are more important than the public welfare.

Resolution Adopted by the Department of Michigan, Polish Legion of American Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

MR. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission granted, I would like at this time to introduce into the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the text of resolutions adopted by the Department of Michigan, Polish Legion of American Veterans, at their 27th biennial State convention.

In these perilous times, it is gratifying to have such an expression of confidence in the Government by men who, along with many of the Members of this body, have been through the horrors of war.

The resolution follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE POLISH LEGION OF AMERICAN VETERANS, DEPARTMENT OF MICHIGAN, AT THE 27TH BIENNIAL STATE CONVENTION, HOTEL BANCROFT, SAGINAW, MICH., SEPTEMBER 4, 1961

1. We express our appreciation and gratitude to the city of Saginaw, its mayor, police department, and all its officials for their warm and friendly hospitality which contributed to the success of our convention.

2. We are grateful to Rev. Father Michael Kujawa, pastor, Holy Rosary Church, for the spiritual guidance which he gave our convention.

3. We condemn the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere by the Soviet Union because this is a war against all humanity, and we fear that the resumption of these tests by the Soviet Union may mean a new armament race between the Western World and the Communist bloc. However, we, as veterans who have fought with arms and have seen our comrades make the supreme sacrifice for freedom and the defense of liberty in past wars, hereby urge the Government of the United States, through the courageous leadership of its President, John F. Kennedy, not to relinquish the position of leadership which the United States has in the entire world. We urge your Government to continue to develop new weapons. We declare ourselves prepared to pay for the weapons of war, both conventional and atomic, because they are so necessary for the guarantee of our freedom.

We know full well that the only deterrent to full-scale war is the United States' stockpile of atomic weapons. As long as we hold this position of supremacy, Russia hesitates to declare full-scale war on the United States. We are in accord with the position taken by President Kennedy that there can be no nuclear disarmament without adequate inspection. There must never be any disarmament on the part of the United States as long as Communism exists. Disarmament on the part of the United States would only lead to the Chinese Communists beating us to death with plowshares; this must never be allowed to happen.

We urge that the United States safeguard future nuclear weapons testing by conducting these tests underground or in some manner so as to prevent nuclear fallout.

4. We reaffirm our support of our great President, John F. Kennedy, and through this resolution confirm the action of our State commander, Bernard V. Dozek, taken in May 1961, wherein he expressed our admiration of President Kennedy and his heroic and courageous administration.

5. We are grateful that President Kennedy saw fit to appoint the Honorable THADDEUS MACHROWICZ, a charter member of this organization, to the U.S. district court at Detroit, Mich.

6. As Americans of Polish descent, we are mindful of our obligation to the United States of America and its fine institutions, and we pledge ourselves to fight for their preservation; nevertheless we are mindful of a duty to our brothers in Poland who are behind the Iron Curtain through no fault of their own. Therefore, we ask that the United States continue help to the people of Poland, as distinguished from its government, in order that our unfortunate brothers may not lose all hope of ever regaining liberty and freedom.

7. We, the members of the Polish Legion of American Veterans in Michigan, thank our commander, Bernard V. Dozek, for his leadership of our organization during the past 4 years. His administration was a success because of his energy, courage, diligence, and perseverance. At the cost of great personal sacrifice to him, our organization has prospered and grown.

8. The chairman of the resolutions committee is directed to furnish copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Michigan delegation to Congress, and such other persons as may be interested.

Respectfully submitted.

Judge BENJAMIN C. STANZYK,
Chairman.

EDWARD MICHALSKI.
CHESTER WIERZBINSKI.
LARRY EVANS.
JOHN PTASZKIEWICZ.

A Diplomat Should Be a Gentleman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial, from the New York Herald Tribune of September 9, indicates that just because a diplomat comes from Africa he has no right to misbehave. If the new nations of the world which have recently acquired independence send representatives like the recent delegate from Guinea, it would be reasonable for other nations to assume that some of their diplomats have not come of diplomatic age:

THE ASSAULTED MAN WHO'S NO LONGER
HERE

Guinea's sudden move to spirit United Nations Delegate Michel Collet out of the country might be taken as a tacit admission that the Guinean Ambassador had told less than the truth about Mr. Collet's scuffle with police. But enough damage has been done for the case still to leave a sour taste in the mouth, and to call for a more forthright apology.

A foreign diplomat who rams a taxi, slugs the driver and then brawls with police is fully entitled to diplomatic immunity, as a legal matter, but not to sympathy. Such immunity is a necessary tradition of long standing, without which the conduct of diplomatic affairs would be subject to unconscionable hazards. But it places certain moral and practical obligations on those entitled to claim it—including a readiness on the part of each nation to discipline its own envoys when they commit gross breaches of the peace.

Guinea's U.N. Ambassador Diallo Tell compounded Mr. Collet's offense with unwarranted attacks on the United States and on the New York police. His charge that the incident "manifestly had aspects of racial discrimination" and was akin to a lynching (merely because the three men Mr. Collet fought happened to be white) itself quite manifestly had aspects of scurrilous mischief-making.

If the police had knowingly and without provocation—as Ambassador Diallo charged—beaten up an African or any other U.N. delegate, it would have been one of the most thundering cases of police misbehavior in New York's history.

A police investigation, upheld by both Mayor Wagner and Ambassador Stevenson, absolved the policemen involved of any misbehavior. When Mr. Collet finally identified himself, at the station house, he was immediately granted immunity and released. Yet the Afro-Asians, assembled in special conclave, listened to Mr. Diallo's patent absurdities and unblinkingly condemned the "brutal assault" on Mr. Collet, calling it the "latest in a series of incidents involving humiliation, indignity and racial discrimination against Afro-Asian diplomats which have been occurring in recent months."

Mr. Collet's case is hardly one for talk about dignity, except perhaps for a lecture on what it consists of. As for discrimination, the witnesses to the affray—all Negroes—unanimously sided with the police.

If the Afro-Asians would lay their own prejudices aside long enough to look at the facts, they themselves might be first to condemn Mr. Diallo not only for abuse of diplomatic immunity, but for involving their collective dignities in a cheap and unworthy cause.

We Are Missing the Boat

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, September 11, 1961

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, the article by Marguerite Higgins, in today's New York Herald Tribune, shows how we are failing to use the cold war weapons at our disposal, in our problem in Berlin. Of what use are token additional troops sent to that trouble spot unless the United States shows the fortitude and single-mindedness of purpose that is needed but so far lacking in President Kennedy:

TENSION, PLEASE

(By Marguerite Higgins)

WASHINGTON.—In a recent interview with the British Ambassador in Moscow, Premier Khrushchev, in his new role as a master statistician of international terror, declared: "We have it all figured out, you know. It will take eight nuclear bombs—pardon, my

mistake—nine nuclear bombs to demolish all of England."

Hence it came as an infuriation, but not as a surprise, when Premier Khrushchev last week blatantly pictured England (and France and Italy) as "hostages to me" because their fear of annihilation would, he claimed, cause them to betray the alliance rather than fight, if the chips were down.

So far, in this and similar rocketrattling, Mr. Khrushchev has achieved an enviable code whereby one man's warning is another man's provocation. In any case in this latest instance no Western power has risked being "provocative" to the point of enunciating any counter truths to Mr. Khrushchev's "warnings."

Even so, there are times when a little reverse rocket rattling appears essential if only to keep Mr. Khrushchev from getting away with the lopsided picture of relative nuclear strength with which he tries to overwhelm the weak and paralyze the strong.

And the truth is that if England and France and Italy are hostages to the Soviet Union in the sense of being vulnerable to atomic devastation, then in the reverse sense Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, East Europe, China, and Russia itself are hostages to the United States, which has the power to devastate every populated area throughout the Communist bloc. When the Red Chinese, for instance, declare that they do not fear war because, out of a population of 600 million, at least 300 million would survive, they are talking nonsense born of ignorance of nuclear arithmetic. The number of Red Chinese surviving a nuclear attack would under present circumstances depend on the selectivity of the United States as to the numbers of targets hit and the types of weapons used. And there is no shortage of big American bombs capable of doing to the Communist bloc precisely as much damage as Khrushchev threatens to wreak on England, Italy, and France.

The game Mr. Khrushchev is playing with his "hostages" talk is obvious, if it is remembered that he professes to believe that America is afraid of ever going it alone in matters of war and peace or even foreign policy.

This is a dangerous assumption for Mr. Khrushchev to be permitted. Hitler made the same sort of error when he thought England would not go it alone after its European allies were overwhelmed.

No responsible American is ready to admit, of course, the slightest doubt about the will of the European allies to live up to their promises to resist further Communist encroachments on Berlin or anywhere else. But it is important to make clear to the Communists that in the unlikely event that any ally should wail on its responsibilities, it would be a miscalculation to expect the Americans to do the same. It should be made plain that an allied defection would never be tantamount to the paralysis of America and that we would indeed "go it alone," reluctantly but steadfastly, to live up to our word in such places as Berlin.

In any case, the plain truth is that the overwhelming brunt of any resistance of Mr. Khrushchev's European ambitions would have to be borne by Americans plus West German power. The French have been a tower of strength in the war of nerves with the Russians, but their contributions to NATO are handicapped by the continuation of the war in Algeria. Since Berlin, the British, Danes, Belgians, etc., have made only token gestures to increase their overall military strength. Whatever the allies do, America alone is capable of wreaking on Russia the same type of damage that Mr. Khrushchev threatens for others.

Mr. Khrushchev's new all-out campaign of terror and tension might additionally be slowed somewhat if he were persistently reminded that many people behind his Iron

Curtain are hostage not only to the West's nuclear might but to the West's ideological pull.

Why was it that in Berlin during the recent crisis every single East Berlin policeman had to be yanked out of the city and be replaced by young East Germans from far-away provinces like Saxony? Why is it that there have been defections even in the ranks of these replacements who are largely ignorant of the situation and, more important, new to the terrain? If the Communists can't trust their police in the time of a hot peace, how could they trust them in the turmoil of a hot war?

Certainly, as the Communists charge, free West Berlin is a hornets' nest. But the hornets are on our side—and the West must never forget what an advantage this is. And the truth is that there are a lot more hornets on our side everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. If Mr. Khrushchev carries his brinkmanship much further, he is likely to stir them up.

"Red Expose"—Editorial Appearing in the Los Angeles Examiner, Los Angeles, Calif., on Friday, September 1, 1961

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, September 7, 1961

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present the text of an editorial in the Los Angeles Examiner for Friday, September 1, 1961. In connection therewith, I will say that during, and since, the closing of the school mentioned in this editorial, I have received literally dozens of letters from American citizens in my Congressional District, and in nearby Congressional Districts, asserting their determination to do all possible to protect our internal security against subversive communism and also to support and strengthen the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

RED EXPOSE

Capacity crowds which attend the Los Angeles sessions of the Southern California School of Anticommunism eloquently attest to the thoughtful determination of patriotic citizens to realize the nature and intentions of a universal enemy.

The event has surpassed all expectations of success.

It has presented a group of distinguished authorities who exposed the Marxian conspiracy as calmly and minutely as scientists dissecting a deep-sea monster.

They refuted with scholarly precision the superficial appeals with which the oldest form of tyranny baits a trap for the ignorant and the unwary.

One after the other, political experts, social philosophers, criminal investigators and military strategists drew on their experience and knowledge to confirm with logic the natural repugnance of a free nation to the modern version of total slavery.

It is a tribute to the quality of the Los Angeles audiences that their attention and response were immediate.

Altogether the sessions supplied the facts and aroused the resolution to meet them, an

attitude that has always sustained Americans in every crisis.

The tremendous Los Angeles success of the School of Anticommunism now gives promise of its extension to other metropolitan centers. We hope this is done, for this invaluable service should be available to all Americans.

Agriculture Secretary Freeman Gives Un-qualified Support to National Milk Sanitation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, August 21, 1961

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD an article from the September 6, 1961, Dairy Record, which tells about Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's favorable stand on my national milk sanitation bill:

KILLS RUMORS THAT HE WOULD OFFER WEAK-ENED ALTERNATE PROPOSAL TO PLACATE EAST

WASHINGTON.—Rumors were finally set to rest that Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman would suggest an alternate proposal when he appeared before the House Interstate Commerce Committee last week when he came out unequivocally in favor of the National Milk Sanitation Act.

He did not hedge his statements; rather, he laid it squarely on the line that he favored passage of the bill. Secretary Freeman stated "After a long and careful study, it is our conclusion that the legislation before the committee will serve the purpose of providing maximum protection of the public health at the lowest possible cost to the farmers and to processors and distributors of milk, and thus to consumers as well. Therefore, we urge its enactment into law."

It is the first time that the U.S. Department of Agriculture has come out in favor of the Milk Sanitation Act.

HAS BACKING OF KENNEDY

Questioned by Representative J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, Republican, of California, whether the stand taken by him was shared by President John F. Kennedy, Secretary Freeman pointed out that as Secretary of Agriculture in the cabinet of President Kennedy was evidence to show that his stand had the support of the President.

The Secretary upheld the adequacy of the U.S. Public Health Service model code, and he pointed out that supporting the measure were the Conference of State Sanitary Engineers, the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, the American Public Health Association, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and many individual scientists of national repute.

CAREFUL CONSIDERATION

He declared that the USDA had given careful consideration to the claim made by opponents of the bill that a number of States have higher milk sanitation standards than those recommended by the U.S. Public Health Service. He released a report made by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in which the regulations of certain States and the model milk code are compared, and he asserted that the report leads to the conclusion that the claim made by the opponents is not supported by facts. It

was also his stated opinion that the health of consumers will be more effectively protected if the legislation is passed.

Adoption of the legislation, the Secretary pointed out, also will eliminate the opportunity to misuse sanitation programs as economic trade barriers. He stated that there is considerable evidence to indicate that milk sanitation regulations of States and municipalities are used frequently to obstruct the movement of milk of high sanitary quality in interstate commerce.

QUOTES MARKETING REPORT

As a basis for his argument, he quoted the 1955 Marketing Research Report No. 98 prepared by the Agriculture Marketing Service that stated: "By far the most common policy standing in the way of free movement of milk was the refusal of given jurisdiction to accept milk produced or handled under the supervision of other jurisdictions having substantially equivalent sanitary standards."

Fears of milk producers in areas that passage of the Milk Sanitation Act might result in a reduction in price were held to be unjustified by Secretary Freeman who declared that the cost of transporting milk and the preference of plants for nearby milk supplies will continue to be legitimate economic factors protecting milk producers in high production cost areas.

COMPARISONS MADE

Comparisons made by the Public Health Service were entered into record. The States included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Tennessee, North Dakota, and California and the Secretary pointed out that all but five are in the Northeast.

The comparison made by the USPHS with Pennsylvania regulations brought an immediate statement from William L. Henning, secretary of agriculture of that State. The Pennsylvania regulations were criticized by the report for not being more specific and Secretary Henning denied that such was the case. He also added that the Northeastern States have opposed the milk sanitation bill on the grounds that it would supersede all State control of milk supplies.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

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